THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 10 Summer · 1941 No. 3

Editorial — *Burton E. Livingston*
European Unity—Legend and History — *Hubertus zu Loewenstein*
Helen Hunt Jackson, Sentimentalist vs. Realist — *Allan Nevins*
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In the Workshop

Some Comments on the Present Status of American Psychiatry — *Milton E. Kirkpatrick*
Progress in the Chemistry of Food and Nutrition — *Henry C. Sherman*

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THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

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The American Scholar

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Little Goody Two Shoes.

THE
HISTORY
OF
Little GOODY TWO-SHOES;
Otherwise called,
Mrs. MARGERY TWO-SHOES.
WITH
The Means by which ſhe acquired her Learning and Wiſdom, and in conſequence thereof her Eſtate; ſet forth at large for the Benefit of thoſe,

Who from a State of Rags and Care,
And having Shoes but half a Pair;
Their Fortune and their Fame would fix,
And gallop in a Coach and Six.

See the Original Manuſcript in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and the Cuts by *Michael Angelo*. Illuſtrated with the Comments of our great modern Critics.

The FOURTH EDITION.

LONDON:
Printed for J. NEWBERY, at the Bible and Sun in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1767.
[Price Six-pence.]

Frontispiece and title page of John Newbery's edition of *Goody Two-Shoes*, attributed to Oliver Goldsmith.

Goody Twoſhoes.

THE
HISTORY
OF LITTLE
GOODY TWOSHOES;
OTHERWISE CALLED
Mrs. *Margery Twoſhoes.*
WITH
The Means by which ſhe acquired her Learning and Wiſdom, and in Conſequence thereof her Eſtate.

Set forth at large for the Benefit of thoſe,

Who from a State of Rags and Care,
And having Shoes but half a Pair,
Their Fortune and their Fame would fix,
And gallop in their Coach and Six.

See the original Manuſcript in the VATICAN at ROME, and the Cuts by MICHAEL ANGELO; illuſtrated with the Comments of our great modern Criticks.

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Frontispiece and title page of American edition printed by Isaiah Thomas at Worcester, Mass.

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Editorial

THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR aims to provide representative and timely reading on feelings, beliefs, opinions and judgments, on argument and discussion, in fields that seem to be of current interest to large numbers of thoughtful Americans. Articles for any issue are chosen after much consideration by members of the editorial board, who see current history and scholarly literature from a wide diversity of angles.

Since the authoritative learning of today is so thoroughly packaged and insulated in special technical publications, an expert in one field is just a layman in many of the other fields, and the offerings of this magazine should help specialists toward better appreciation of contemporary activity in other provinces than their own. More than that, these articles should be of interest to all lovers of learning and scholarship, whether specialists or not. By representing the whole field of literary writing THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR may contribute somewhat toward a much desired synthesis or integration on a non-technical level.

Following recent emphasis in public interest, a majority of our articles are at present concerned with phases of thought and feeling that have been called forth by a great war, whose consequences impinge more and more upon American emotional and intellectual life, as well as upon practical affairs. As every one realizes, they arouse unwelcome and unfamiliar trains of mental reaction along unwonted lines.

But scholarship of peace-time background is not wholly lacking. Even in times like these, thoughtful minds must occasionally turn (at least for respite, should circumstances become worse and still worse) to the contemplation of those broader, more permanent and less violent humane interests that—despite temporary interruptions, as at present —have been increasingly influential in the development of civilization

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ever since mind began to emerge. These are essentially the interests of imaginative artistic creation and interpretation, on the one hand, and those of scholarly scientific study, on the other. They represent the persistent quest for beauty and rational truth, for sweetness and light. They have led to impressions, ideas and ideals on which human culture is based, and it is through the flow and ebb of their evolution that culture is to maintain itself. Consequently, in its attempt to reflect current thought and feeling THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR still affords space to such editorials as those of the two preceding issues and to recent or contemporary articles on topics such as the nature of poetry, Housman's pessimism, evolution of birds, education of youth, Chinese caricature, sentimentalism versus realism, and the evolution of children's books.

After all, it is to further and encourage appreciation of productive fundamental observation, discussion and argument that this magazine exists, to offer some of the intellectual pleasure and satisfaction that may be had through occasional sampling of current thought. Such satisfaction is surely to be most promisingly pursued through efforts toward progressive fundamental understanding of the never-ending march of change and readjustment in all things about us and within ourselves. Simple factual description of objects and observed changes is generally of little direct import in modern thought, even when accompanied by considerations of spatial arrangement and temporal sequence, for understanding and appreciation now call for some discernment of causal and consequential relations. Facts are interesting mainly because of such relations; we cannot avoid asking why things have happened and how what has happened may be expected to influence what is going to happen. We try always to better our imaginative picture of the dynamic operation of the causal complexes or systems that constitute nature; we always seek improved hypotheses and explanations. We are on the watch for better evidence and for more reliable weighings thereof in the appraisals of each interpretation. Of course it is through the results of such effort, which we call research, that significance is to be discerned and appreciation is to be progressively broadened and deepened. Thus ideas of probability and rational prediction tend to restrain or correct the "wishful thinking" that naturally goes along with primitive hope and simple emotional faith. Planned research, which is the newest tool to be produced by intelligence for its own use and protection, promises much in the realm of human happiness and satisfaction. Through its employment thought, activity and even emotion itself begin to be understood as physiological response, conditioned like the rest of nature by past occurrences that cannot be deleted from the record.—*B.E.L.*

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European Unity—Legend and History

HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN

ALTHOUGH history is being made before our eyes the sense for the relationships between past and present is frequently obscured to our generation by the impact of bewildering news which is sensational today and forgotten tomorrow. Yet if we look beyond the events of the day we may recognize in all the storms and upheavals of Occidental mankind the manifestation of one perpetual law of European history: the recurrence of movements tending from unity to diversity and from diversity back to unity.

Germany's greatest contemporary historian and writer, Frau Ricarda Huch, in her book *Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation* describes this phenomenon in classic words:

> The universal Roman Empire is lying in shambles. We may compare it to a song in the ear of one who, though asleep, dreams a wonderful dream. Nothing one can hear during the day sounds so inspiring, so forceful. Though one may not clearly remember it in the morning, one remains conscious of its incomparable beauty. There was a communion of Christianity and world rule: *Imperium sine fine dedi.* The promise of Jupiter, father of gods and men, in whose words Vergil prophesied eternal duration to the Roman Empire, became one with the word of the Lord on which the Church bases her claim of perpetual existence: "*Tu es Petrus*, upon this rock I will build My church, and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it." Divine words wielded the magic power which bent the necks of Germania's victorious sons under Rome in ruins.

When the City of Rome transcended her walls and became an Empire the word Roman ceased to be a racial or local name and became synonymous with Commonwealth of the Occident. Throughout the Middle Ages Vergil's *Fourth Bucolica* was re-

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garded as a statement of the moral concept of this Empire, in a religious as well as a secular sense. Written in the coinciding periods of the Emperor Augustus, who pacified the world, and the Prince of Peace, "*cuius regni non erit finis*," the poem prophesies the coming of a Son of the Gods who is to bring lasting peace and restore to men the realm of Apollo, where the sun never sets and where happiness is the lot of mankind.

To the Christian mind the mystic unity of all men in Christ presented itself, on the earthly plane, in the all-embracing Empire which had brought a stable law and security to all peoples. Even under paganism the Roman Empire had reduced the distinctions between national entities to secondary importance. After the Emperor Nerva, ruling in the years 96 to 98, no "Roman" in the strictest local sense of the word had occupied the throne of the West; soon, men from the remotest provinces could hold high office in the Empire, even the highest, with no sense of any incompatibility with the word Roman. After Christianity became dominant, racial distinctions became wholly irrelevant. What remained all-important was the Roman name, to which even Odoacar, after deposing the last Western Roman Emperor, Romulus Augustulus, was forced to pay homage by ruling as the lieutenant of the Byzantine Emperor in whom legitimacy was now vested. Yet although the continuity of Occidental history was thus symbolically preserved, centuries of dissension were to pass before a universal empire could once more attain outward realization.

Charlemagne, from whose name the Slavonic peoples derive their word for "king," stands between the first and the second manifestations of the European idea, foreshadowing the coming of the wholly Christian Empire. Though it was not he who founded that Empire, we like to think of him as the great European who, adorned with the universal crown, ruled over the undivided Frankish realm in which the Rhine was no barrier.

The historic act of February 2, 962 achieved what Charlemagne had left unaccomplished—the creation of the Holy Roman Empire of the German Nation.

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If political science deals largely with state and government as they ought to be, and as men want them to be, the name Holy Roman Empire, coined at a later date, should be taken to stand for medieval political science in essence, for it characterizes the main constitutional elements of the Empire and states its political and moral program. The Empire was called holy because it aimed at uniting all men under one Christian scepter. The word holy also served as a constitutional command directing head and members to use their power legitimately and guide men toward temporal happiness as a token of eternal salvation.

The ethical foundations of the Empire are defined by the great Ghibelline, Dante Alighieri, in *De Monarchia*:

> Justice is most effective in the world when present in the most willing and powerful man. Only a monarch is such a man. When cupidity is removed altogether, nothing inimical to justice remains. Cupidity is impossible when there is nothing to be desired, for passions cease to exist with the destruction of their objects. Since the Emperor's jurisdiction is bounded only by the Ocean (here Dante paraphrases Vergil's majestic verse on Caesar) there is nothing for him to desire. Freedom is the greatest gift bestowed by God upon the human race. For through freedom we attain to joy here as men, and to blessedness there as gods.

The noblest reason for the existence of government power, therefore, is that it serve freedom. The meaning of the term "Monarch" is made obvious by the context; it applies only to him who represents the whole and not to territorial rulers, powerful as they may be. The word "Monarchia," in the terminology of medieval political science, must be taken in its literal meaning of "The One Rule" (of the Christian world), synonymous with commonwealth of nations, a universal realm.

Sovereignty in this Empire was one and undivided, exercised by the Monarch alone. It was not until the 17th century that, on their request, the kings of powerful France and England were permitted to use the title of Majesty, theretofore reserved to the Roman Emperor.

Furthermore the Empire, since it was a community of cult and culture, had no strictly defined territory. In theory it could

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claim jurisdiction over all Christian lands; and pagan territories were to be Christianized until finally the entire world should be brought under the rule of the Cross. A document of the year 1232, drafted at Cividale by the Patriarch of Aquileia and eleven Princes, describes the relationship between Empire and territorial powers as follows:

> As the head rests upon the shoulders, the Imperial throne, with which we are connected like members of the body with the head, rests upon us. It receives strength from our union, and as the Empire excels in greater majesty, our principalities receive from it a glory of their own.

The simplicity and oneness of the Empire did not of course exclude manifold customs; there was no sterile uniformity.

In 1493 the idea of supreme arbitration entrusted to a universally-recognized court of law, with competence above all national jurisdiction, was realized in modern form in the institution of the *Reichskammergericht*, the first temporal world court in Christian history. Relations between the Empire and its members could not rightfully be adjusted by war, for this would have been high treason against the Empire. Furthermore, disputes among the territorial units themselves were to be brought before the supreme authority, as in the recent past conflicts between members of the League were to be submitted to its organs.

In the 16th century Erasmus of Rotterdam set forth a plan for the elimination of armed conflicts, which he rightly considered incompatible with organized society. Universal agreements and covenants, he proposed, should guarantee a certain well-defined territory to each nation. No conquests, separate treaties or obsolete claims should be allowed to change, diminish or enlarge those territories. These suggestions, an effort to extend to all other principalities the privileges granted to the Electorates by the Golden Bull of 1356, found a 20th century counterpart in the Kellogg Pact and the policy of non-recognition.

The universal nature of the Empire was not merely a matter of theory; it manifested itself in every concrete act of universal jurisdiction and government.

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Candidacy for office, even the highest, was not limited to men of a particular nationality. Frederick II, though Suevian on his paternal side, is described to us as Italian rather than Nordic; Charles IV and Wenzel of Luxembourg seem to have been more Czech than German; and Charles V, victorious candidate against French and English competitors, was Spanish and Flemish rather than German. Nevertheless the elected Roman rulers held, with the Imperial crown, the dignity of German kings since it was the German nation which in 962 had taken over the Roman mission of service on behalf of a universal empire.

The absence of nationalism was evident also in the toleration shown to foreigners. The stranger was under the special protection of imperial legislation—knights and priests, craftsmen, artisans and merchants, physicians, teachers and students migrated freely throughout Europe. Even the non-Christian inhabitants of the Empire enjoyed a large measure of tolerance. In both spirit and wording a privilege granted to the Jews of Regensburg by Emperor Frederick I is characteristic:

> It is the duty of Imperial Majesty, approved by Right and demanded by Reason, that all of our loyal subjects, not only the Christians but also those whose faith is different from ours, may live according to the customs of their forefathers, that they receive what is due to them according to equity, that their customs may endure and their person and possessions enjoy peace and security.

I realize that other imperial legislation, particularly that which Emperor Frederick II directed against heretics, might be quoted to disprove this contention. In a realm, however, which men thought of as deriving its power from God and, together with the Church, as necessary for salvation (Dante's argument on this subject was that inasmuch as Christ deigned to be born under the protection of the Roman Empire—he makes no distinction between Roman Empire and Holy Roman Empire—that Empire was sanctified politically and its government recognized as the necessary form of organized mankind), the denying of fundamental religious truths was not merely heresy; it was a political crime. Militant heresy was punished as high treason.

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The principle of "Monarchia," a universal community of cult and destiny, was incompatible with any hereditary succession in public offices. No more than the Papacy could the imperial office become hereditary. Sonship was understood in a spiritual sense, in accordance with the Biblical word that God could awake posterity to Abraham out of stones. Men feared that the imperial dignity, if it ever became hereditary, would be regarded as little different from ordinary rulerships and would thereby lose its supernational standing. (This actually happened when, in the middle of the 15th century, the imperial crown became practically hereditary in the house of Habsburg and was thereafter lowered almost to the rank of a family possession.)

The elective principle of the Empire vested it with a republican ethos, and the term "Respublica Christiana" (recalled by Ricarda Huch in her definition of the constitutional structure of the Empire as an "Imperial Republic") may therefore be understood in its literal modern sense. The feudal system originally fitted well into this Republic. It was based upon mutual loyalty and service; a personal bond existed between rulers and ruled, men and property; all privileges and responsibilities had to be personally granted and accepted. Not till after feudal relationships had become hereditary could peasants be turned into serfs, citizens into dependent subjects, and princely administrators into absolute rulers destroying the freedom of the Empire, nor should the authoritarian idea of the Empire be confused with this territorial absolutism of later centuries.

In this connection it may be of interest to quote an inaugural address on the occasion of the founding of a new craftsmen's guild—a document of the 12th century drawn up by the ruling Archbishop of Magdeburg. "This guild" and, we may add, all others in the Holy Roman Empire, the Archbishop said, "should be governed by self-chosen, elected leaders, for honors and prosperity without freedom would be vile servitude."

"Not because of their higher birth are Kings and Caesars distinguished above others," Emperor Frederick II wrote to his son

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Konrad, "but because of deeper insight and more virtuous deeds. For as men they are equal to all other men and have no privilege unless they excel through virtue and wisdom. They are born as men and as men they die."

This human equality which the Emperor professes and which is the soul of democracy was not based at that time on any written declaration of the rights of men. It has been said that rights of men are drawn up and promulgated by generations who have already lost them but are eager to conceal this fact.

During the Middle Ages the watchword of the French Revolution—*liberty*, *equality*, *fraternity*—was in its essence still deeply rooted in the Christian knowledge of the infinite value of every human soul. A hierarchical structure of society is not in contradiction with democracy so long as all parts of the pyramid are connected by a living stream of mutual respect and by the recognition of human dignity. Absolutism and totalitarianism could develop, in the Christian world, only after Christianity had ceased to serve as guide in the valuation of men and in the conduct of public affairs. The anarchical disintegration of society in our modern democracies—the forerunner of a totalitarianism which, though controlling de-individualized masses by force, still invokes the name of the people as the source of all law—is a direct consequence of the secularization of the spirit in public life and government.

The Peace Treaty of Westphalia, of 1648, dissolved the Holy Roman Empire in all but name; it bestowed on the member states the Danaidian gift of sovereignty and on the German principalities the right of concluding treaties and alliances with foreign governments. It thus brought to a climax a process of disintegration which, though it had set in at a much earlier period, had become manifest only after the Reformation—a movement that had shaken the medieval unity of faith and had encouraged the aspirations of ambitious Princes.

But even before the signing of the Peace Treaty of Westphalia the oppressive grip of the Austro-Spanish Dynasty upon the office of the Holy Roman Emperor had gradually caused

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the supernational standing of the Empire to degenerate into hegemonic domination. Many who aimed at overthrowing the power of that Dynasty, however, realized that, if anarchy were to be avoided, the vacuum must be filled by a new European unity. Among them the most prominent was King Henry IV of France, a man whose genius transcended the boundaries of his own nation, which he had restored to unity and peace. He foresaw that the blessings he had won for his own nation with such difficulty would be in grave danger unless they were protected by a universal peaceful order. He therefore conceived the idea, known in history as the "Great Design," of a League of Christian Dominations which was to embrace six hereditary monarchies (France, England, Spain, Denmark, Sweden, Lombardy), five elective monarchies (the Empire, the Papacy, Hungary, Poland, Bohemia) and four republics (Switzerland, Italy, Venice, the Netherlands) in a reconstituted Christian Republic of Europe. This plan, frustrated by the assassination of the King, might have broken the hegemony of the one too powerful Dynasty. And it would have introduced the "federal principle" in an almost modern sense of the word.

The ancient idea of a world unity (which had made of Europe a community of civilization, cult and destiny that antedated the emphasis on tribes and nations), translated in medieval times into the Holy Roman Empire, was carried across the threshold of modern history—witness Immanuel Kant's quest for a World Republic and Reich Baron von Stein's contention that no one, not even the Emperor, had a right to dissolve the Empire or to detach hereditary domains from the universal body. In the second half of the 19th century, however, anyone thinking of the Empire as more than a pious memory, or as having validity for modern times, would have been called hopelessly medieval.

But in the past twenty-five years current thinking has begun to change. The great number of books written on the subject of European unity and on the periods when it had been a reality, is a notable and revealing aspect—perhaps not only a wish but a prophecy—of the trend of contemporary history.

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Helen Hunt Jackson, Sentimentalist vs. Realist

ALLAN NEVINS

AMERICANS in general have always regarded themselves as an exceedingly practical race. They have prided themselves upon their realism, born of the grim conquest of a continent. But the fact is that they have always manifested a remarkable duality. We can point to our iron-fisted business leaders, our hardhitting politicians, our shirtsleeve diplomatists, our passion for organization, our insistence on results. We can equally point to our fervent idealists, our innumerable exhorters and revivalists, our long line of reformers, our wild-eyed radicals leading hosts of deluded enthusiasts. In business we have had the most brutal of industrial captains and the greatest of philanthropists; in politics the coarsest of realists—Boss Tweed, Boss Croker—and the finest of idealists—Woodrow Wilson, the elder La Follette; in religion the narrowest of Puritan dogmatists and the most erratic builders of new faiths since Mahomet; in literature Ernest Hemingway's great following and Gene Stratton-Porter's still greater.

So persistent is the dualism of the national temper that in many advances the precise division of credit between the realistic and the sentimental reformer is often a matter of baffling difficulty. Woodrow Wilson enunciated a great truth when he said in his Mobile address of 1916: "I have not read history without observing that the greatest forces in the world and the only permanent forces are the moral forces." Let the sentimentalist place himself on the side of the angels and these great moral trends underlying events often carry him to fame and triumph. But in the victory eventually won is his share not

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often exaggerated? William Lloyd Garrison's attitude toward slavery met the very definition of sentimental. It was an intolerant and hysterical emotion bearing no sane relation to the ills of slavery, the terrible complexity of the problem or even the object Garrison had in view. It was far removed from the realistic attitude toward slavery assumed by Lincoln, Seward and the Republican Party. Yet that Garrison had something to do with the extinction of slavery no one can deny.

It would be rash to say, in looking back upon the history of American reforms, that women have produced a greater proportion of sentimental leaders than men. It is true that from Anne Hutchinson to Mary Heaton Vorse women have had a way of throwing themselves with impassioned fervor into idealistic causes; that their vision is likely to be narrower and more intense than that of men, their feelings more fervently enlisted, their disregard of obstacles more complete. But on the whole they have not been less realistic.

One fact however is certain—that a flair for dramatization is certainly more frequent among female than male reformers; and nothing so promotes any cause as its dramatization. Elizabeth Cady Stanton, reading at the Syracuse Convention her Declaration of Women's Rights modelled on the Declaration of Independence, despite Lucretia Mott's protest, "Why, Lizzy, thee will make us ridiculous"; Clara Barton, advertising in a Worcester newspaper for soldiers' supplies and herself taking them to the Virginia battlefront to advertise the need for provisions and medicines; Frances E. Willard, praying on her knees in the sawdust of saloon floors—these were typical of many more. To dramatize a problem is seldom the best way of showing how to solve it, for dramatization confuses rather than clarifies any complex situation. But if it does not show *how* the problem ought to be solved it at least drives home the fact that a solution is needed. It is not remarkable that of literary dramatizations of great abuses two of the most effective to be found in American history are the work of women. Harriet Beecher Stowe contributed nothing whatever to the ways and means of

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solving the complex economic, social and political questions bound up in slavery. *Uncle Tom's Cabin* indeed helped to diffuse some illusions upon that difficult problem and to envelop it in prejudice. The book was not even, unless we adopt Tolstoy's point of view, a great work of art, for esthetically considered it is a third-rate novel. But it aroused the North to insist on the exclusion of a terrible cancer from new territory.

Helen Hunt Jackson's *Ramona* offered equally little in the way of constructive proposals for solving the Indian problem. It even gave rise to certain misconceptions of that problem. Nor was it a work of high artistic merit; without the scope, the imagination and the humor of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, it had as many weaknesses of construction. Yet somehow it hit the mark.

The events making Helen Hunt Jackson a reformer are as ironic as any in the history of American moral crusades. They demonstrate again that in the process of human regeneration the extremists never tolerate the moderates. From March 1877 to March 1881 Carl Schurz, a man who from his entry into American politics had been the unremitting foe of corruption, incompetence and greed, sat as Secretary of the Interior in a Reform Administration in Washington. He gave four years of toil, planning and exhortation to improving the lot of the helpless tribes so maltreated under President Grant. Yet in a series of bitter attacks upon this Reform Secretary Helen Hunt Jackson first made herself prominent in Indian affairs. Beginning in a controversy over the treatment of a minor tribe, the Poncas, the conflict between the two developed into a battle that gained national attention. In 1877 Carl Schurz, long famous as a German liberal, one of the founders of the Republican Party, a Civil War general, a former diplomatist and Senator, exercised wide influence. Helen Hunt Jackson, though one of the most energetic, vigorous, intense women of her time, was as yet an obscure magazine writer. But she unhesitatingly pitted herself against the Interior Department in what she believed a righteous undertaking—the restoration of the Poncas to their former home.

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It is essential to note that while the Poncas had been maltreated Schurz was not responsible for the wrong. They were a tribe of 800 peaceful farming people dwelling on a small reservation on the Niobrara in southeastern Dakota. A blundering Congressional enactment nine years before Schurz took office had granted the Sioux Indians a reservation comprising the lands of the Poncas. When a conflict developed between the two tribes Congress had to remedy its blunder. The day before Schurz took office it passed a law transferring the Poncas southward to Indian Territory. In vain the Indians protested that they wished to stay on their ancestral acres. At the point of the bayonet they were driven out upon the road. The transfer, consuming nearly two months in the spring and summer of 1877, was accompanied by painful disasters—storms, flood and epidemic malaria. Moreover the change in climate bore heavily upon babies and invalids. Many died. When they arrived in Indian Territory they found the soil poor, the water bad. Half of their farm implements had been lost, most of their cattle were gone. Strangers in a strange land, their one desire was to return to the Niobrara. But by that time the Sioux had occupied their old lands and houses and Schurz ordered the Poncas to stay where they were. After fruitlessly asking Congress to help them he himself assigned them new and more fertile lands in Indian Territory. The consequence was a second removal, in the early summer of 1878, with more hardships and losses. Still unhappy, still homesick, still wilted by the heat and dust of the Oklahoma plains, many of them grew desperate. The chief, Standing Bear, had seen more than 150 of his little tribe buried in the new land. In the spring of 1879 he and a group of followers, men, women and children, made a pitiful attempt to run away to their Dakota home. When they reached the Omaha reservation soldiers barred their path and attempted to drive them southward again. Standing Bear, who resisted, was thrown into prison. And when this happened indignant citizens of Omaha intervened.

A tragic tale—and the essence of the tragedy was that no

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one could be held responsible. Congress had acted with good intentions. Schurz was not to blame, unless we hold that he should have disobeyed the Congressional enactment. He had made every effort, when he learned the facts of the situation, to mitigate the inevitable hardships of the removal. Nor could what had been done be now undone.

In the violent controversy flaring up after the arrest of Standing Bear, Helen Hunt Jackson was but the most earnest and aggressive of many philanthropic people who sprang forward to demand that the Poncas be restored. When certain Omaha lawyers obtained a writ of habeas corpus for the chief she promptly raised a fund to defend him in the courts. She sent Schurz a hotly indignant demand, January 9, 1880, that he aid the Poncas to bring suit to recover their Dakota lands. But Schurz did not wish them returned to Dakota. He pointed out with asperity that since the Supreme Court had repeatedly ruled an Indian tribe could not sue in the Federal courts the Poncas were helpless. He explained, moreover, that another removal of the Poncas a thousand miles overland would be a poor form of kindness, for by now they had built houses and begun to grow crops again. He suggested that the money Mrs. Jackson had raised be used to enable the Poncas to obtain individual titles to their own farms—a step which would give the red men a better legal protection in their land and teach them self-reliance. Schurz could now speak with authority, for he had visited the Poncas, talked with their chiefs and carefully studied their situation.

But the fiery Helen Hunt Jackson valiantly stood her ground. The Poncas had been robbed of their farms, houses and movable property; the only way to repair the wrong was to make full restitution. They ardently desired to go back to their old homes; the desire should be met. Thanks largely to her ardent efforts, prominent men and women stood up to do battle beside her. Meetings were held, more money raised. A missionary named Tibbles took Standing Bear and an Indian girl named Bright Eyes on a speechmaking tour. Large gather-

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ings heard them in Chicago, Philadelphia and New York. When Tibbles and Bright Eyes reached Boston, Governor John D. Long presided over an indignant meeting in Tremont Temple. He denounced Schurz; Mayor Prince spoke; letters were read from Edward Everett Hale and Senator Henry L. Dawes, special champion of the Indians in Congress. Most impressive of all, the veteran Wendell Phillips, spokesman of the oppressed everywhere, made an eloquent plea for the Poncas.

The episode, however, could have but one termination. President Hayes gave unwavering support to Schurz and so did a commission sent to visit the Poncas. When this body agreed that the tribe should be kept in Indian Territory and compensated for its mistreatment and losses, Hayes sent a special message to Congress which, impressed by the uproar, for once moved promptly. It appropriated $165,000 to indemnify the Poncas for the outrages they had so meekly endured and the latter expressed themselves as satisfied. All students of the incident have concluded that Schurz on the whole handled it wisely. A few months after he left office Tibbles and Bright Eyes, the missionary and the maiden, were united in marriage. The Assistant Secretary of the Interior wrote to Schurz, "The Ponca War is at last ended—Bright Eyes has capitulated to Tibbles, and Tibbles has surrendered to Bright Eyes."

But for the fervent-hearted Helen Hunt Jackson her real war—the war in behalf of all Indians—had only begun. She had awakened to the most intense passion of her mature life. At fifty she had found a vocation which enlisted all her remarkable energies. Thus far her life had passed through two quiet phases which do singularly little to explain its fiery climax. Born in Amherst, Massachusetts, the daughter of a professor, she had been a schoolmate and intimate friend of Emily Dickinson. After receiving an unusual education at Amherst and in private schools she had been married at twenty-two to Edward B. Hunt, a lieutenant and later a major of engineers. Eleven years of army life, in which she gave herself up to home, children and social enjoyments, had followed. In the

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midst of the Civil War, however, Hunt was drowned in a submarine vessel of his own invention and soon afterward her last surviving child died. Her parents were gone. With characteristic energy and skill the bereaved woman of thirty-five turned to gain her bread by her pen. Visiting Newport she was advised and stimulated by the same man who inspired so much of Emily Dickinson's work, Thomas Wentworth Higginson. She began pouring out verse, travel sketches, short stories and children's books and for ten years was one of the most prolific women writers of the time. Had it not been for the aversion to publicity which made her sign most of her work with the initials H. H. or the pen name "Saxe Holm" she might have become famous. Emerson admired her verse. Then marriage in 1875 to a wealthy banker removed all pecuniary pressure in writing. The earnest, warmhearted, impetuous woman was ready to make herself useful to the world rather than to magazine editors. Had the Indian not fallen in her path some other cause would.

The five years following the contest with Schurz, the years 1880-85, were filled with unresting labor. Having fruitlessly championed one small tribe Mrs. Jackson turned to throw herself into the battle for justice to the 300,000 Indians of the country. She sent for every book and report she could find. In 1881 she labored for months in the Astor Library in New York. At night she wrote furiously at home. The result was the publication in 1881 of *A Century of Dishonor*, a work of nearly 500 pages describing the maltreatment of the Indians from the period just after the Revolution, when the Delawares and Cherokees were the principal sufferers, up to those recent years in which the Sioux, Nez Percés and Cheyennes had been the most prominent victims. When Congress met in 1881 a copy was laid on the desk of every member. The next year Mrs. Jackson received official acknowledgment of her position as champion of the Indians. The Department of the Interior appointed her, with Abbott Kinney of Los Angeles, to investigate the condition of the Mission Indians of Southern California.

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For years the Department had enlisted public-spirited men and women to make studies of various tribes—Congress and Executive then ignoring the reports. The work of Mrs. Jackson and Mr. Kinney met no better fate than that of others. After weeks of devoted labor given to the Indian village they had united in a thoroughly convincing report, full of constructive suggestions —perhaps too full of them. But the new Secretary of the Interior, who believed in a rapid exploitation of Western resources, let the report accumulate dust and Mrs. Jackson felt that for the second time all her labors had been abortive. Deeply depressed—but still undaunted—she turned to fiction and in 1884 *Ramona* appeared. It was the final utterance of an intense emotion. She informed her publishers:

> I did not write *Ramona*. It was written *through* me. My lifeblood went into it—all I had thought, felt, and suffered for five years on the Indian question. I shall never write another novel.

And she wrote Thomas Wentworth Higginson from her California sickbed:

> I feel that my work is done, and I am heartily, honestly, and cheerfully ready to go. In fact, I am glad to go. You have never fully realized how for the last four years my whole heart has been full of the Indian cause—how I have felt, as the Quakers say, a "concern" to work for it. My *Century of Dishonor* and *Ramona* are the only things I have done for which I am glad now. The rest is of no moment. They will live on and they will bear fruit. They already have. The change in public feeling on the Indian question in the last three years is marvelous; an Indian Rights Association in every large city in the land. . . . Every word of the Indian history in *Ramona* is literally true, and it is being reenacted here every day.
>
> I did mean to write a child's story on the same theme as *Ramona*, but I doubt if I could have made it so telling a stroke, and perhaps it is as well that I shall not do it.

She was correct in saying the novel was her last work. In 1885 she was dead—next to Harriet Beecher Stowe, said the New York *Nation*, the most admired woman writer in America. Her fierce intensity of feeling on the Indian question, the heavy labor her two books had cost, had shortened her life.

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Of these two books *A Century of Dishonor*, which she seriously thought the greater, had a significance that may readily escape those unfamiliar with the Indian question. That question had become acute just after the Civil War. The building of the Union Pacific, the rush to the Colorado and Nevada mines and the advance of homesteading, had resulted in wars with a number of tribes, most notably the Sioux of Minnesota and Dakota, and the Arapahoe and Cheyenne farther south. Although it used large military forces to suppress the outbreaks the government also acknowledged that it had given insufficient attention to tribal needs. Legislation in 1868 created a Board of Indian Commissioners to act in an advisory capacity to the Department of the Interior. So long as its able and high-minded members, some of them churchmen, made mere recommendations they were tolerated. When they attempted to curb the thievery by more vigorous measures they raised up powerful enemies—one of them Grant's corrupt head of the Department of the Interior, Delano. In 1874 six of the members resigned in disgust. Schurz three years later tried not only to introduce reforms; his annual reports to Congress asked for much-needed legislation. Then in 1879 G. W. Manypenny, Commissioner of Indian Affairs under President Pierce and constantly thereafter a well-informed friend of the Indians, contributed to the growing discussion. His book, *Our Indian Wards*, shocked public attention because of the vigor with which it placed most of the blame for the maltreatment of the Indians upon the regular army. According to Manypenny the army had always shared the worst prejudices of the frontier against the Indians. It had consistently tried to assert jurisdiction over the tribes as against the Department of the Interior and it had always treated them brutally. He also brought grave charges against living commanders.

But Mrs. Jackson's *Century of Dishonor*, appearing so soon after Manypenny's, indicted the civil as well as military policy of the government. And in this she was undoubtedly correct. Indeed the heaviest weight of her censure fell upon the civil

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arm, which in theory has always been supreme over the military forces. Her book was not a systematic history but a record of the relations of twelve important tribes with the Federal and State Governments. The instances of abuse in each tribal record were set down in graphic language, with numerous extracts from official documents and little editorial comment. What had happened to these dozen tribes, it was plain, had happened to scores of others. Mrs. Jackson made an appalling list of violated promises and semi-legal confiscations of land. She revealed that the government had almost never protected the Indian against private outrage. She proved that its constant vacillations, its endless changes of policy, had produced the same effects as gross brutality. Federal authorities were forever uprooting the Indians; one sardonic chief whose people had been removed six times within one generation remarked that he thought it time the government put them upon wheels. The corps of Indian agents and post-traders had long carried on a legalized robbery. And Mrs. Jackson's charges were supported by Bishop Whipple of Minnesota, who in his preface to the book even added to them. "The Indian Bureau represents a system which is a blunder and a crime," he wrote. He agreed with Mrs. Jackson that not the frontiersman, not the army officer, but the civil government itself was primarily responsible for the wrong and neglect.

Yet telling as the *Century of Dishonor* was, the second of Helen Hunt Jackson's books quite overtowered it in importance and demonstrated once more the immeasurable superiority of imaginative literature in carrying a message to the popular heart. A million sermons could never have had the effect of *The Pilgrim's Progress*; a million arguments could never have accomplished what *Uncle Tom's Cabin* did. For every reader who looks into *A Century of Dishonor* today—for probably nobody reads it—a thousand are familiar with *Ramona.* It still goes through new printings and new stage and screen versions. The literature of knowledge can never compete with the literature of power—if it really has power.

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To a critical reader of the present day the deep impression made by *Ramona* is somewhat puzzling. It has many and grave faults of construction, its depiction of character is feeble and as a novel of purpose it embodies one inexcusable blunder. The book falls roughly into two parts and an epilogue. Its early chapters present a series of picturesque descriptions of life on a great California estate of the days just after the conquest, when Americans were pouring into the newly-annexed domain. We see the Indian sheepshearers crowding to their dusty work in the great pens; the cattle and horses grazing on the hills behind the orchards; the simple, comfortable, patriarchal life of the Moreno household, with its trusty Mexican servants, its sewing women, its chapel services, its visits from the beloved Father Salvierderra; the merrymaking at the generous dinner in the great dining-room off the courtyard. These charming sketches of a semi-feudal household are set off by idyllic vignettes of California scenery—the semi-tropical Santa Clara Valley, bursting with fruit and flowers wherever watered. We are introduced to the proud and manly Indian Alessandro, hero of the sheepshearing; to Ramona, half-Indian, half-American protegée of the mistress herself, the Señora Moreno, who brooks no opposition. These glowing pages upon the twilight of the old Mexican civilization in California are the most delightful part of the book, a golden background against which a dark story of injury and oppression is to be projected.

It is obviously into the second half of the book, into this tale of oppression, that Helen Hunt Jackson poured the most intense feelings of her heart—200 pages of racing narrative that describe in simple human terms the wrongs suffered by the Mission Indians. Alessandro's passion for Ramona is at first triumphant; despite the angry opposition of the Señora, the Indian youth carries her off and marries her. But disaster immediately falls upon him. The land the village of his tribe stands on is adjudged by the Court in San Francisco to belong to American settlers. Worse, costs of the suit are assessed on the impoverished Indians; their cattle and horses are seized to pay

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for it. Reduced to beggary they are driven into the canyon like wild foxes. Alessandro's father dies under the shock. And this is but the beginning of a literal odyssey of woes for the helpless young couple and their child. From place to place they are driven by the American onrush. They build only to have their homes seized by the merciless invader, they plant only to have their wheat harvested by some frontiersman who tosses them a few contemptuous dollars. The child dies because a flint-hearted government surgeon denies it any aid. Finally, under his load of misfortunes, Alessandro's reason collapses; in his dazed way he rides off on the wrong horse and an American miscreant shoots him dead while Ramona barely escapes death from fever. The tragedy seems almost complete.

Almost—but not quite; for Helen Hunt Jackson goes on to commit the incredible error of a complete anti-climax. As Ramona lies ill her faithful cousin Felipe appears. He rescues her, proposes, is accepted. "My Ramona," he exclaims, "I will love you so, you will forget that you ever said that part of you was dead!" The final paragraphs not merely hint that the marriage takes place and that Ramona finds prosperity and happiness; they make these facts as explicit as a newspaper report. Such was Helen Hunt Jackson's concession to the contemporaneous American demand for a happy ending. How great an artistic blunder it was is evident to anyone who compares *Ramona* with *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* or with *My Antoniá*. In view of her special purpose it was a still greater blunder. Alessandro and Ramona were more than individuals —they were types of a wronged race. The whole intention of the story was to illustrate the fact that the wrong done the race had never been righted. Mrs. Jackson had ruined her effect; for it was important the reader be left with an indelible memory of injustice, his feelings still harrowed by the accumulated sorrows of these waifs of the West.

Other faults mar the effectiveness of the eloquent book. It bears evidence of the hasty writing of a passionate woman eager to throw her message upon paper. The construction is so ill-

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planned that the reader is sometimes puzzled by a failure to observe even the temporal order of events. In portrayal of character only the two leading women, Ramona and the Señora, have any vitality. Alessandro is a mere lay-figure and the American frontiersmen are ludicrously unconvincing. Finally, the book suffers from the inadequacy with which the historical background is sketched in. Its action embraces the effects of a crowded period of change in California's life—the secularization of the Missions by the Mexican Government; the American conquest; the rush of the gold-hunters; the occupancy of the rich valleys by wheatgrowers. To all these changes, the engine by which the machinery of the story is moved, only passing and indirect allusions are made. The inclusion of solid blocks of historical material would have been a sad error but a few explanatory paragraphs would have poured shafts of light into the story, illuminating and enriching it by panorama and perspective.

Yet with all its faults *Ramona* has the indispensable virtue of vitality. For one thing it glows and sparkles with all the colors of the fresh scene it paints. No one had dealt with that period and theme before; no one indeed, has dealt with them since. Bret Harte had written of the rise of American civilization in California, not of the decay of the Spanish; while the Indian is conspicuously absent from his crowded stage of California characters. As a piece of local-color fiction *Ramona* still occupies a unique place in our literature and for a *tour de force* in its field still has remarkable power. Moreover Mrs. Jackson was a born storyteller, and in this swift, impetuous tale she keeps suspense at a high level. But the principal factor in the book's vitality is the poignancy of many of its pages. They were written from an overflowing heart; she was aflame with eagerness to expose wrongs, and despite passages of confusion and unreality the book as a whole leaves an impression of fiery truth.

For it must be remembered that *Ramona* was founded on truth. Like Cooper, Mrs. Jackson has been accused of idealizing the dirty, brutish, thievish savage. But the official report of

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1883 on the Mission Indians points out the sharp contrast between the vagrant, drunken wayside Indians whom most white men saw, and those of the more isolated villages in the mountain valleys—"industrious, peaceable communities, cultivating ground, keeping stock, carrying on their own simple manufactures of pottery, mats, baskets, etc., . . . independent and self-respecting." She has been accused of inventing her saddest episodes. But she and Abbott Kinney presented documented evidence for the repeated ejection of the Indians from their homes—too ignorant, too impoverished to defend themselves by legal means, too submissive to use force. Their report presented a series of allegations no Californian could dare to deny.

And what of the effect of these two books? On this point we encounter two types of evidence—that of the men they influenced positively and that of the men whom they threw into antagonism. Perhaps this latter and indirect tribute to their power is the more striking. The importance of Mrs. Jackson's work is attested by the characteristically denunciatory protest it drew from that arch-enemy of sentimentalism and self-styled expert on Western life, Theodore Roosevelt. As Mrs. Jackson was capable of seeing only one side of the issue he was capable of seeing only the other. She espoused the cause of the Indian; he espoused the cause of the pioneer and settler. Let sentimentalists remember, he declared, in the first volume of his *Winning of the West* (published in 1889), that the Indians had no real title to the lands over which they roved. They did not effectively occupy this land; it was unthinkable that the prairies and forests of the continent should be held against civilized occupancy by the claims of a comparatively few squalid savages. Let sentimentalists also remember, he proceeded, that while the Indians had doubtless suffered much they had also committed many and terrible crimes. They delighted in cruelty for cruelty's sake, many of them in war for war's sake. They were a treacherous, brutal and often degraded race. He told again the story of "the hideous, unnamable, unthinkable tortures practised by

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the red men on their captured foes." It was the frontiersman who was usually the long-suffering and wronged person.

> His friends had been treacherously slain while on messages of peace; his house had been burned, his cattle driven off, and all he had in the world before he knew that war existed . . . ; his sweetheart or wife had been carried off, ravished, and was at the moment the slave and concubine of some dirty and brutal warrior; his son, the stay of his house, had been burned at the stake with torments too horrible to mention. . . .

With the Indians Roosevelt contrasted the frontier settlers —the

> stern race of freemen who toiled hard, endured greatly, and fronted adversity bravely, who prized strength and courage and good faith, whose wives were chaste and who were generous and loyal to their friends.

In place of the castigated Mrs. Jackson's books Roosevelt recommended those by Colonel Richard I. Dodge and J. P. Dunnas as authentic and realistic.

Of more positive tributes to the power of Mrs. Jackson's books a long list might be cited. The utterances of numerous magazines and innumerable newspapers could be included. So could statements by men who aided her in the humanitarian crusade for a new Indian policy—men like Moorfield Storey, Ethelbert Talbot, Julius H. Seelye, Bishop Whipple and Bishop Hare. Within a year after the publication of *A Century of Dishonor* the Indian Rights Association was organized to arouse public opinion for a new orientation of the Indian problem.

Nor should we forget that Mrs. Jackson took the utmost pains to place her presentation of Indian wrongs in the hands of every man who had official connection with the problem. Four days before her death, August 12, 1885, she wrote the following letter:

> To Grover Cleveland, President of the United States: Dear Sir,— From my death-bed I send you a message of heartfelt thanks for what you have already done for the Indians. I ask you to read my *Century of Dishonor*. I am dying happier for the belief I have that it is your hand

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that is destined to strike the first steady blow toward lifting this burden of infamy from our country, and righting the wrongs of the Indian race.

The general agitation in which she played so prominent a part was largely responsible for the enactment in 1887 of the Dawes Act, the first comprehensive, constructive and altogether wise piece of legislation for the protection and advancement of the Indians. Post hoc is not propter hoc and we cannot tell how much credit—if any—for the reform of 1887 can be credited to the books of 1881 and 1884. As a student of history I believe the reform must have come in due course had Mrs. Jackson never lifted her eloquent pen; the situation would have compelled it. But her impassioned voice may have been largely responsible for the ease with which it was finally achieved.

That her books were sentimental there can be no doubt. They were as sentimental as *Uncle Tom's Cabin* or *Up From Slavery* or *How the Other Half Lives* or *The Bitter Cry of the Children* or *The Jungle* or *The Shame of the Cities* or *Other People's Money*. American history owes much to our long list of sentimental books. *A Century of Dishonor* and *Ramona* are sentimental in that they present but one aspect of a complex and difficult problem and thereby oversimplify and distort it. They are sentimental in that they offer no constructive remedy whatever for the difficult problem they help to expose. They appeal solely to the emotions whereas these problems can be solved only by cold, careful, sustained use of the intellect. They are open to the criticism that Theodore Roosevelt (himself an unconscious sentimentalist in his attitude toward the frontiersman) expressed. Taken alone they could lead to no fruitful result. Such a result was attained by the labors of hardheaded men like Secretary Schurz, Senator Dawes and Moorfield Storey, who pointed to the true path: the concentration of the Indians in limited areas; the subdivision of their lands for individual ownership, with training for self-support and with protection against alienation; the dissolution of the tribes and the emergence of the individual into full American citizenship. The Dawes Act was the result of Schurz's and Dawes's ideas and

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not of Mrs. Jackson's and in California, where the demand for reform gained no adherents among hardheaded men of politics and business, it accomplished nothing. Despite *Ramona*'s vogue the Mission Indians continued to be despised, neglected and abused.

But it is no real condemnation of Mrs. Jackson's books to say they are sentimental. That is merely a statement of their limitation. In accomplishing the great reforms needed in American life not one but various types of workers are necessary. The function of the propagandists is to deal with public sentiment and to make it more malleable to the labors of the realistic statesman. That function, in dealing with the Indian question, the intense and noblehearted if somewhat too emotional Mrs. Jackson admirably discharged. Nor is that all. In her books the conscience of the American people found tardy but memorable expression. In looking back on the long, sad history of error and oppression marking our relationship with the Indian from the days of the Pequot War, we can point to her volume as eloquent evidence that at one period in our history a large body of Americans began to care, a large body began to be ashamed. And if her writings lacked constructive qualities they were not devoid of vision. Mrs. Jackson believed the Indian character had a peaceful side, a religious side, a side which produced true and important cultural values, and that under favorable conditions these happier characteristics would find vigorous expression. The present Administration, in legislation for the Indians as notable as the Dawes Act of 1887 has attempted to produce these conditions and to nourish this special Indian Culture. Its program is a fulfillment of Mrs. Jackson's vision.

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The Fantasia of Current Education

I. L. KANDEL

EVER since some educational theorists made the profound discovery that we live in a changing world, that authoritarianism began to be undermined by Galileo and that life is precarious and the future uncertain, experimentalism has run riot and education has been bombarded with a chaotic welter of theories. Some twenty years ago C. W. Bardeen wrote an article under the title, "The Man Milliner in Education," but the educational milliner was just beginning to be active when he wrote; since that time the milliner's energies and activities have not flagged and every year produce several crops of new plans, new projects, new theories. Educational bibliographies have to be annotated with statements that the earlier works (written as long as fifteen or twenty years ago) of some authors do not represent their present views; one educator, careful not to be left behind by the rapidity of the changing cultural stream, announced in the 1939-40 catalog of one institution two courses on the "Psychology of American Culture"—the first semester to cover the period from 1860 to 1939, the second semester the period from 1860 to 1940, with an unfortunate gap of about two weeks unaccounted for.

Despite the widespread attacks upon it because of its traditionalism, American education has never been as rooted in its principles and practices as have the European systems. The first prize in a competition instituted by the American Philosophical Society in the early years of the Republic went to Samuel Knox for his *An Essay on the Best System of Liberal Education Adapted to the Genius of the Government of the United States* [1799]. Education since that time has been marked by constant attempts at adaptation but never with the intensity characteristic of the last two decades. There are, however, many edu-

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cators who would reject the notion of adaptation as an end of education and would embark on a program of reconstructing society through the schools in an effort to meet the uncertain future.

The educator is turning his attention from the schoolroom to the community, to society, to the world at large and, discovering that everything is wrong, is ready to tear down the walls of the school so that pupils and students, seeing the ills of the world in which they live, may learn how to correct them. We have been through a World War; we are in the midst of another. We passed through a boom period; we are now in the midst of a depression. Youth has been betrayed by the older generation; it must be made wiser and be trained to solve the problems which the older generation has through complacency, indifference or ignorance allowed to accumulate. And the older generation has failed because the traditional education it received failed to develop its social or any other kind of intelligence, and predisposed it not only to accept but to be content with the status quo. This point of view was expressed in the preliminary program of the winter meeting (1940) of the Progressive Education Association:

> Schools no longer bound education. The teeming life of the community, the State and the nation are more really and vitally educative than books. In the educational experiences they give their children, how can the schools use these resources that lie all about them? And what can schools do to help children to become aware of the problems inherent in these resources, so that the children may help to solve these problems as they grow into manhood and womanhood?

The problems which experts the world over have failed to solve may now safely be left to children in the schools under the guidance of teachers who are only too ready to disprove Bernard Shaw's gibe and whose claims to expertness seem to have been overlooked in the formation of brain trusts. This is not the first time that teachers and educators, weary of the tasks they have professionally assumed, have sought new worlds to conquer. The sophists had useful recipes for the solution of the

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problems of their day. Comenius (whose reputation rests on the production of the first illustrated school text), when he grew weary of the *puerilia illa toties nauseata*, as he described his work as a teacher, had an ambitious plan to set the world of his day right by his pansophic scheme.

Despite the fact that educational literature is full of accounts of failures in the established routine subjects of the school, in the teaching of which teachers may be expected to have acquired some proficiency, they are now to become experts in the solution of all social problems. Despite the known fact that many college students fail because they are unable to read, despite a growing library of literature concerned with the problems of teaching reading, and despite the fact that in the field of adult education books have to be rewritten to make them readable, children in schools are to be plunged into surveys of their community, national and world resources, which "are more really and vitally educative than books." The reality of ideas is to be abandoned for contact with realities.

A little more than a year ago there was a conference at Teachers College, Columbia University, on "How Can Economic Illiteracy Be Reduced?" Seminars were held to discuss what can be done in this field at different school levels. The report on the findings of the Seminar on "What Can Be Done in Elementary Schools?" (grades six and below) contained the following statement:

> It was agreed that to educate satisfactorily for economic literacy, the teacher must have a definite philosophy of life evolved from living a full life, and must have an orientation in economic theory. *Although such orientation is now generally lacking, we cannot afford to wait to re-educate teachers,* but we must proceed as that process of re-education goes on. The materials to be used in such education are to be determined in the light of the problems to be solved. They shall be decided upon by *teachers, children, specialists, and others in the situation.* It was agreed that research is needed to determine what materials are required for this type of instruction.

The italics, which are not in the original, are intended merely to

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draw attention to a trend which is not new—the optimistic attempt to have illiterates taught by illiterates.

If this proposal were due merely to an accident of wording or to a chance admission that teachers are not yet economically literate it would be bad enough. It is still worse when, as in an article in *School and Society*, October 21, 1939 it is justified as a principle. Here the author writes:

> A teacher does not need to have studied economics in order to give a good course in the subject. All that is needed is a teacher (1) who is alert to the problems of the day, (2) who is openminded, (3) who can stimulate pupils to bring economic problems to class for discussion, (4) who permits and encourages free and open discussion of all controversial subjects, (5) who instills into the pupils a spirit of tolerance for all views and a respect for the opinions of others, and (6) who shows in all discussion that he or she has at heart the solution of the economic ills of the day in a way which will restore prosperity and happiness to the whole people.

Only the traditionally trained academician would be disposed to criticize such frank open-mindedness.

Unfortunately the statement just quoted does not stand alone. A report published a few years ago revealed that there were about 150,000 high school teachers giving instruction in subjects they themselves had never studied. To this number should be added another large percentage of teachers who hold high school certificates but in no specific subjects. When German was ousted from the schools during the World War a crop of teachers blossomed forth overnight to teach Spanish. When the recent vogue for "social studies" was introduced there was no lack of teachers ready and willing to teach them, because "a teacher does not need ever to have studied [any subject] to give a good course in the subject." Lest those in higher educational circles take too much unction to themselves it is well to remind them of the college president who requested the dean of a well-known graduate school to send him two Ph.D.'s. When the dean inquired what fields the Ph.D.'s were to expound the answer came back that the fields did not matter; all that the president needed was "just two Ph.D.'s."

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The harm done American education by the cult of such superficiality is incalculable. A number of explanations can be adduced for this situation. The first is a somewhat widespread contempt for knowledge and its mastery, or, as the educational theorists put it, the important thing is not "the what" but "the how," not content but method, not ideas but the thinking process. How the one is possible without the other is never explained. Hence the prevalent criticism of objective tests of scholastic attainments as measuring "mere knowledge." Hence the traditional emphasis on methods and pedagogy rather than content in the preparation of teachers, and the distinction between teaching "the child" and teaching "subjects." Thus, also, it is claimed that a great measure of success has been achieved in a large city school system in an experiment with the activity program; the pupils in these experimental classes excel in cooperation, initiative, experimentation, critical activities and leadership; but they are at a substantial disadvantage, when compared with pupils in traditional classes, in arithmetical computation, arithmetical reasoning, reading speed, spelling and language usage. These results are interpreted as bringing "democracy into the classroom." If it is objected that the pupils cannot compute, attention is directed to their initiative; the charge that they cannot spell or read is met by referring to their independence and experimentation; if inadequacy in subjects is mentioned it is countered by citing their critical activities and leadership. The new school thus becomes "dynamic" and is to replace the obsolescent traditional school which was "static."

The second explanation is to be found in a certain discontent with the preparation given to meet the problems of citizenship. The school must train pupils to solve the controversial issues of the day. Education can only be made "meaningful" as it deals with the immediate problems of the environment in which the pupils live. Whether the pupils realize the existence of these problems, whether they have any direct stake in their solution, whether the problems and the solutions will be the same when they in turn become adults is immaterial. Nor is it clear whether

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those who advocate the study of controversial issues at any school level are interested in fact-finding about the present or in the acquisition of methods of attack. No one could object, of course, to the development of techniques of argument and debate in the classroom; indeed a good case could be made out for teaching everything controversially. The position is different, however, with the controversial issues which it is proposed to inject into the school to develop social, political and economic literacy. Here, for example, are two problems taken from a social studies textbook actually used in a class of fifteen-year-old girls:

(1) If you were appointed economic dictator of the United States, what steps would you take to prevent business depressions? (2) Imagine yourself a member of the Round Table Conference on India which met in England in 1931. Give arguments for Indian independence from the point of view of an Indian Nationalist. Give arguments for England's retaining control from the point of view of an English Conservative. Outline the main points of what you consider a settlement fair to all concerned.

To avoid any objection that these questions are exceptional two others from another study guide for group and class discussion at the high school level may be cited:

(1) If purchasing power were increased to the extent of providing a high standard of living could mortgaging the future be prohibited? How? By whom? (2) Does the Fascist economic system balance production and consumption? How does this planning differ from the proposals of the scientific students, or the plans for controlled private capitalism in America?

Such is the revenge of the progressive educator on the traditional academic curriculum for transmitting "inert knowledge" and for its failure to be "meaningful," interesting and realistic!

A third explanation is to be found in the theory that the process of thinking can only be stimulated by having a problem to solve when a fork in the road is reached or when the choice of a course of action has to be made. How the existence of a problem can be recognized without a background of antecedent knowledge is not explained. Here again, since next steps are always uncertain and the future is always precarious, the experi-

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mental habit of mind must be cultivated. Habits, stereotypes and routine must be replaced by scientific methods of thinking; "life situations" must be dealt with as the scientist deals with his material. Unfortunately a cog is always slipped in the theory; the scientist's problems arise out of a background of knowledge accumulated by his predecessors and himself and when he experiments it is with a hypothesis or a set of hypotheses which have to be proved.

There is still another reason for the demand that pupils become discoverers rather than absorbers of knowledge. This is to be found in the fear of indoctrination through handing out what is called "knowledge fixed-in-advance." Hence the pupil is to be constantly confronted with problems since the only knowledge which becomes enduring is that resulting from his own quest. Thinking and the discovery of knowledge thus become "creative acts" which in turn contribute to the pupil's growth. Learning ceases to be the acquisition and becomes the discovery of knowledge to suit the particular situation in which the pupil finds himself or the problem he has to solve.

Underlying this movement is the critical attitude toward everything traditional in education and a faith that the latest is always the best. Traditional education, it is asserted, was passive; the pupil sat patiently at his desk while the teacher poured ready-made information into his unwilling mind. Traditional education did not develop the thinking powers. The traditional curriculum ignored the "needs, urges, drives, and interests" of the pupil, was remote from the realities about him, did not train him to deal with "life situations" and did not develop his creative abilities. Those who survived the prison walls of school, who became good and intelligent citizens and who even developed creative powers, did so in spite of their mis-education. The school must now devote itself to creative arts, creative music, creative writing and creative building of new social orders. The French emphasis on *répétition, assimilation et création* is, according to this theory, completely fallacious and unsound. Psychologically every individual has an urge to express

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himself; it is the business of the school to encourage this urge, even though the pupil has nothing to express. In no other way can an integrated personality be developed. To thwart self-expression by a program fixed-in-advance is to thwart the integration of personality and to perpetuate inhibitions, obsessions and complexes.

And thus the next stage in the development of current theories is reached. No obstacles in the form of definite aims and purposes or of subjects must be placed in the way of the child's growth lest that growth be thwarted by the suppression of native drives, urges, needs and interests. The tradition of education with its formal curriculum and "subject-matter laid-out-to-be-learned" failed because it set up such obstacles. It failed for another reason; it was too intellectualistic; it sought to train the mind and failed to educate the whole person because it ignored the emotions which play such an important part in the development of attitudes. The teacher must now be not merely a psychologist but also a mental hygienist if the school is not to produce a host of misfits and mis-educated individuals. Hence instruction must concern itself with the unconscious and even the subconscious as well as with the conscious determinants of the thinking process. It is no longer the mind that is to be educated but the whole organism. Starting with an attack on "intellectualistic" education and stressing the part played by the emotions the latter-day theorists, without realizing it, are promoting the retreat from reason.

Two ends are to be served by the new education. The first is to cultivate ability to solve the problems and issues arising out of pressing "life situations." The second is to develop an integrated personality. The first objective is to be achieved by what is called a "face to face confrontation" with the environment; the second by giving free play to the urge of the whole organism for creative activity. The duty of the school is to promote the happiness of the individual which comes from the proper adjustment to all the pressures and demands of life and from direct and personal experiencing and purposing. The tra-

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ditional obstacles to the development of an integrated personality have been a fixed curriculum divided into compartments known as subjects. The whole organism is affected by a whole and not a compartmentalized environment. The school must be an experiencing institution with an integrated curriculum in which elements of what used to be called subjects are drawn upon as they are needed. The traditional school was formal in its aims, formal in its methods and formal in its organization. Form and formalism must be discarded; their place is to be taken by an integrated curriculum or what is coming to be more widely known as "general education," which should deal with all the major functions of human living. For subjects there are substituted "experiences" which make for esthetic living, social living, healthy living, vocational living and so on.

It will no doubt be objected that this description of current tendencies is overdrawn. That it does not apply to any one particular school is readily admitted; that each school seeks to interpret the tendencies in its own way is equally true. When, a few years ago, the eight-year experiment was undertaken whereby thirty secondary schools, public and private, were permitted to organize their work in their own way on the understanding that their graduates would be admitted to colleges on their records, an analysis of their programs revealed that they were embarking on twenty-six different plans—which rendered the task of evaluation rather onerous if not impossible.

The tendencies are, of course, rooted in the principle that "education is life and not a preparation for life," a principle which is sound but for school purposes requires much closer analysis than it has received. Since no one has seriously taken the trouble to discover what aspects of life should be selected for purposes of school education, "schools no longer bound education" and their activities are directed to the "teeming life of the community, the State and the nation." The new tendencies have their appeal, further, because they promise immediate returns in understanding and action; they are the educational analogies of the get-rich-quick notion.

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Another explanation may be found in still another direction —the American tradition of having no traditions. It is interesting that tendencies similar to those described are found in countries without a strong social or cultural tradition or in countries where, as in Italy, Soviet Russia and Germany, there is an effort to make a complete break with the past; in England, France and the Scandinavian nations the new theories have their advocates but only a small body of followers. The rootlessness of American culture has been noted by many American writers. "Ideas," wrote Santayana, "are abandoned in virtue of a mere change of feeling." Van Wyck Brooks, in one of his critical essays, has dealt with the "superficiality of rootlessness." Rootlessness is the theme of Bromfield's *The Man Who Had Everything*; it appears again in Louis Adamic's *Grandsons*. One of the best characterizations of American education is that given by T. S. Stribling in *These Bars of Flesh*: "American education," he writes, "is like a man who continuously builds himself new homes and never lives in one. He perishes running here and there with his stones and his new blueprints."

This rootlessness has always left the door open for changes and adaptations in education. To rootlessness must be added the rapid tempo of change in the past generation, and to both of these the experimentalism which has affected all aspects of culture, not only in this country but everywhere else. The United States has undertaken a formidable task in attempting to provide an education to everybody on equal terms; the efforts have in too many cases resulted in failure; the failure has been attributed to the tradition of the so-called academic curriculum, and subjects rather than the poor preparation of teachers have been attacked; since the old curriculum has failed, new subjects or new integrations are being tried out—the teachers remain pretty much the same and their deficiencies are made up by more attractive textbooks. The venture into the new is justified on the ground that "education is life." There is, further, no real guidance from psychologists, who, having surrendered the mind as beyond definition, are busy developing a number of

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competing and conflicting theories. The American public still retains its faith if not in education at least in schooling and is willing to tolerate experimentation just as it welcomes every other new sensation. Under these conditions it is not surprising that experimentalism runs riot.

The educator will maintain that in embarking on experimentalism he is following the lead and methods of the sciences. Paradoxically enough the group sponsoring the new theories is the group most strongly arrayed against those who in the last thirty years have laid the foundations for a science of education. The experimentalism that characterizes the current trends in education is not, however, analogous to experimentalism in science. It is more similar to that in literature and art.

In its emphasis on functionalism it has some affinities with architecture. It has its parallels in the current novel which seeks to explore the hidden springs of thought and behavior, and to deal with the immediate and particular rather than with the universal and the permanent. But the closest analogies are found in music and art. An educational theory which aims at growth with nothing-fixed-in-advance is not in its organization and results unlike atonality in music. In the field of art its nearest analogies are to be found in surrealism and in Dadaism; one could even find some similarities between "college" and the "integrated curriculum." Like the modernist composer and modernist artist, the modernist educator starts off with a diatribe against the traditional. He refuses to believe that the modernist in art or in music has normally had a training first in the classics of his field. He would dismiss as unsound pedagogy the story that Picasso once tore up the canvas of a "creative" student in his atelier with the words "To paint like Picasso you must first learn to draw." The only criterion acceptable to the new educator is not unlike that prevalent among certain art and music critics—"Has the pupil fulfilled to his own satisfaction the task which he has undertaken?" The emphasis again is on "the how" and not "the what." Education thus has its counterparts in such current remarks as "The music in itself was not

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much but it was played beautifully" or "Of course the picture is beyond me but look at the technique" or "The play was no good but the acting was superb." As in other fields there has been a transition in education from classicism to romanticism to expressionism. And, finally, as in modernist music which always seems to require an enlarged orchestra and the use of every possible sound-making device that was ever created, the modern educator never has enough equipment or materials or he looks for them outside the school, so that "the community, the State and the nation" become his workshop.

There is, of course, another trend which merges into those preceding it: the effort to use the schools to build a new social order—for the educator, like the creative artist in art and music, does not feel he can keep aloof from the current political scene. At present there still seems to be some indecision as to whether education will become a "Fantasia of the Unconscious" or will help to build a "Brave New World." In any case experimentalism is rampant. As in contemporary art and music, some contribution may survive to enrich the permanent stream. Undoubtedly much that is called traditional in education is not adapted to the vast hordes now crowding into high schools and colleges; undoubtedly many of the criticisms leveled against traditional education merit consideration. One point can be insisted upon, however: educational salvation will not come either by discarding content as traditional or by substituting the new as the best. A successful education cannot be expected from recipes and panaceas; a successful education can only be looked for as teachers become masters of what they teach, recognize the relation of what they teach to the society in which they teach, and have a sympathetic understanding of those whom they teach. Unfortunately, while buildings, equipment, textbooks, modern methods and new curricula have been made the subjects of propaganda for the support of education, little, very little, has been done to "sell" teachers to the American public. Before that can be done the American public needs to become more aware of what is sold to it under the guise of progress in education.

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Reflections on Recovery

JACOB LOEWENBERG

FOR a long time now the word recovery has been too much with us. What writer on political or economic themes has failed to assure us that the thing called "recovery" is near or remote, genuine or spurious? Who does not recall the recent debates whether recovery should precede reform or whether reform should be made the basis of recovery? Are recovery and reform alien to each other or are they mutually implicative? Is recovery the unsolicited gift of nature or is it the reward of human effort? How far has recovery been delayed or hastened by the various activities associated with the New Deal? Is the breakdown of our industrial system inevitable so long as the defects inherent in it are not removed by measures more radical than those already taken? What precisely does the word recovery signify?

Does the word possess an unequivocal meaning? Before we answer the question we must state the problem to which "recovery" is said to furnish the solution. The present social situation, most men agree, is both unstable and undesirable. The "law" of supply and demand does not yet operate to maintain an automatic equilibrium of production and consumption. Millions of our population, anxious and willing to work, are reduced to a state of pauperism. Those free from distress cannot view with complacency the degrading lot of so many of their fellow men. There is such potential abundance, we are told, that "want in the midst of plenty" has become the notorious paradox of our age. The engines of industry are alarmingly efficient: those whose labor they have replaced cannot be blamed for looking askance either at them or at their owners. If the industrial revolution has succeeded in solving the problem of production what revolution will solve the problem of distribution? The question

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is ominous alike for those cherishing their possessions and for those having no possessions to cherish. Astute observers are not wanting who see in our present situation unmistakable trends toward fascism or communism. No wonder fear is stalking abroad. Fear of one another on the part of different classes and groups begets mutual suspicion and hatred. In such a mental atmosphere violence thrives and flourishes. For fear, it has been said, is the parent of cruelty. And cruelty once let loose culminates in the concentration camp and the executioner's axe as its ultimate triumph. There are many prophets who tell us that "it can happen here."

The present state of affairs in the United States is thus marked by a grave instability. Gone is the faith that the pursuit of private ends is the instrument of public good. A feeling of insecurity is ubiquitous. People are frightened—frightened because they find themselves divided into "beneficiaries" and "victims" of the uncontrolled play of economic forces. But they are more afraid of the logic of future events. The hoarse cry of "wolf!" is raised with monotonous regularity, the menacing beast being identified as "communism" by one group and as "fascism" by another. These terms, incorrigibly vague, are not scientific concepts. They are names for eventual things to be averted and resisted. Every move made by our government is interpreted as a move to the "Right" or to the "Left." Our traditional labels have become obsolete. Within each of the major political parties the bifurcation has become economic: those who represent the beneficiaries of the old order are everywhere divided from those who speak for their victims. We are paying Moscow, Berlin and Rome the compliment of perpetually thinking of them. The policies enacted in these foreign capitals, we insist, must not be allowed to contaminate America. We must recover from the present crisis in our own way.

What we are to recover *from* is thus not difficult to state. The present order of things is abnormal. Men are everywhere prepared for change. Even conservatives, the dominant trait of whose philosophy is usually associated with the glorification

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of the status quo, do not wish to perpetuate the contemporary state of uncertainty. For it is they who are most voluble in their insistence on *real* recovery.

Although there is general agreement concerning the negative implication of recovery, what does recovery stand for in a positive sense? We know what we are to recover *from* but *to* what state is our society to be restored? The answer is not so simple. For recovery is a word to which we are unable to attach a definite meaning. Its use is too analogical to convey clear ideas. The choice of words, as Francis Bacon says somewhere, "wonderfully obstructs the understanding." To show how bewildering is the notion of recovery let us consider but two uses of the word, and let us freely label these as *therapeutic* and *forensic*.

The most obvious and widest sense which the word recovery now enjoys is certainly connected with the art of healing. Our economic organism has been ailing and must be restored to health; under proper treatment, so our economic doctors confidently predict, the social patient will eventually regain the normal functions which some virus has paralyzed. True, our economists have manifested the proverbial disagreement of all doctors. There has been the usual confusion between symptoms and causes. And, consequently, regarding what constitutes an effective cure there has been no unanimity of opinion. Prescriptions have varied from mild stimulants to major operations. But however divided in their diagnosis or prescription, our experts have tended to view the economic depression as similar to an organic disorder.

It would be tedious to reproduce at length the medical language employed by popular writers on economic subjects. I cannot refrain, however, from quoting one typical expression. In an article, "Inflation—When and How?" (published by John T. Flynn in *Harper's Magazine* for June 1935) the following passage occurs:

When the economic anabolism—that process by which blood-making inside the economic carcass goes forward through the technic of invest-

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ment—comes to a pause or slows down, then it is necessary for our poor pallid system to have a transfusion. When it will not make its own blood, the life-giving fluid must come from some other source. And of course inevitably the donor must be that much despised meddler and interferer—the government. Income must be supplied. And as investment withdraws from the job of furnishing the necessary marginal income between depression and prosperity, the government must step in with a substitute. That substitute consists in the crude stratagem of putting up money.

The picturesqueness of such an utterance is undeniable. The image of "flooding money into the economic bloodstream," money being "the life-giving fluid" which the government must either borrow or create, is essentially clinical. And metaphorical diction is of course unexceptionable if it is an aid to thought and understanding. But it has its dangers. A figure of speech often masquerades as scientific description, a remote analogy as actual likeness. Between physiological functions and economic processes the resemblance is fanciful. Although blood and money have in common the character of being in "circulation," the two modes of circulating are incommensurable. An "economic carcass" is a fiction and an "economic bloodstream" a myth. If the use of such tropes is justified by "poetic license" surely they have their place in poetry rather than in economics.

I do not say it is ignominious to emulate the license of poets in dealing with prosaic facts. There is no harm in depicting the nature of economic recovery in physiological terms if the line that separates the symbolic from the literal remains unobliterated. The graphic picture of a stricken society is more engaging than statistical tables, laws of correlation, differential equations. But there can be no recovery for society, in the sense in which the term applies to a human invalid, because society is not a physiological organism. It is always good poetry to represent through particular and striking imagery persuasive or universal situations. But it is not good poetry to bewilder the mind by imagery which is strained and irrelevant. The facts of therapy, the experiences of valetudinarianism, are too remote

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from economic forces and social changes to serve as adequate symbols for them. It can be easily shown that we have here to do with inept analogies.

The use of the term recovery, as applied to the economic scene, gains plausibility from the fabled analogy between the individual and society. Many philosophers, from Plato on, have entertained the view that the individual is a community in miniature and that society is an individual writ large. Each individual, we say, is "one" but he is also "manifold." The body of a man is differentiated into various organs, his mind into diverse faculties. A man's "body-mind" is manifestly a synthesis of unity and multiplicity. And just such a synthesis is society. Composed of sundry and sundered individuals, society is somehow a single entity, the embodiment of a unique nationality, a uniform polity, a homogeneous culture. The analogy is made still more plausible by the emphasis upon "division of labor" and "cooperative effort" by which both individuals and groups must maintain themselves. The organs and faculties of the individual play specific roles in the life of the organism in accordance with the principle of "specialization" yet they are conjoined and interactive and upon their harmonious collaboration depends the vitality of the whole body-mind. Society represents a similar pattern. Its preservation is made possible by division and integration of functions.

Human collaboration is of course a fact that cannot be denied. To this fact society is beholden for whatever degree of stability and order it enjoys. An individual self prospers psychophysically when all his organs and faculties are in equilibrium. Social prosperity involves likewise the principle of equilibrium. The many factors the resultant of which is a single national state—economic forces, political powers, legal rights, cultural values—must yield to some process of mutual adaptation; otherwise they will represent independent elements in precarious juxtaposition. The mighty frame, which we are in the habit of calling the "body politic," seems to resemble a machine or an organism, for disproportionate straining or excessive per-

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formance of any of its constituent parts brings about its disequilibrium or "breakdown."

The term "body politic" illustrates the spurious analogy between the individual and society. Society, forsooth, is a "body" which is either sturdy or weak, sound or crippled, vital or moribund. It has a "constitution." It has "organs" of government, "arteries" of trade and finance, "faculties" of production and consumption. Its economic "functions" are under the governance of the "natural" law of supply and demand. When this law operates without obstruction there is "equilibrium" between capital and labor, the two agencies that create and put into "circulation" the goods required for subsistence and comfort. But the "normal" process of circulation may suffer check as the result of a pathological condition in the complicated mechanism of the industrial system. Just as in the body of an individual, abnormal circulation of the blood may be caused by some defect in the dynamic interrelation of the various bodily organs, with the consequence that the blood is not properly pumped, strained, refreshed and nourished, so in the "body politic" the sluggish flow of commodities to the ultimate consumer may be caused either by a fatal fracture in the concatenation of the several parts forming the industrial system or by a septic state in any one of these parts. When the "body politic" reaches this "cycle" of depression its economic bloodstream is blocked, capital and labor stagnate, money freezes and men are idle and in want.

Why is the analogy spurious? One consideration alone suffices to invalidate it. By the body of a human animal we mean a body of flesh and blood. Its organs are physical. Their mode of existence and behavior is amenable to scientific observation and description. The physician can perceive the human animal as an individual entity and he can study its parts with scrupulous care, both in relation to each other and to the whole. And between the normal and the pathological state of the human organism he can draw a relatively fixed line. Within limits he may succeed in diagnosing particular maladies and in prescrib-

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ing the proper remedies. His art of surgery often brings relief from pain and restoration of health. Recovery, as a therapeutic notion, signifies a "normal" condition to be regained by a patient who has lost it through some definite and ascertainable disease. The application of this notion to the "body politic" is misleading. Though the "body politic" is made of organisms it is not itself an organism. There are no drugs to serve as specifics for its toxic state. A prostrate community cannot be put back on its feet. And this (to echo the words of Tweedledee) is scarcely odd, because it hasn't any feet.

The rhetorical use of the word "recovery" in connection with the "body politic" is harmless enough. But the analogy between recovery of health by an individual and economic recovery by society obscures the issues that now confront us. For the analogy fails us at two crucial points.

One point concerns the distinction between a normal state of affairs and its opposite. For recovery signifies a process of transition from an unsound condition to a sound one. And if society is said to undergo this process now, what are the signs by which its restoration shall be deemed to have occurred? The "soundness" of an individual's condition is ascertainable with some degree of definiteness. A consensus of medical opinion has succeeded in establishing the "norms" in terms of which what constitutes a typical case of *mens sana in corpore sano* may be theoretically defined. When changes in a man's well-being take place something is rightly judged to be amiss. If expert diagnosis reveals some disturbance or debility in his system he then becomes a patient in need of recovery. And recovery means regaining or winning back the normal state of health previously enjoyed. Such language just does not fit the social scene. For the "body politic" can return to normal only if it has deviated from the normal. But during what period of the past was it in good health? Was society normal in 1929? Or does a more distant time provide the measure of social well-being? Even if we equate social with economic prosperity we must first determine the norm of such prosperity. Should we describe "business

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as usual" as normal, the unrestrained play of economic forces leading to the antithesis between swollen fortunes and bare subsistence?

There are some experts who cut the Gordian Knot of these questions. Viewing economic laws as "natural" they regard as "normal" whatever results from their operations, booms as well as depressions. The distinction between the natural and the normal thus becomes false. But the logic of this view is the logic of fatalism. And recovery, in the sense of a return to normal, becomes a paradox, since any natural state is normal in being the state it is.

There are other experts who distinguish between the natural and the normal in the economic sphere. Depressions *are* natural in being the specific effects of specific causes. But though causally determined, depressions are to them symptoms that the economic system suffers from a pathological state. The first scientific desideratum is to discover the natural causes of this pathological state; for only after its causes are definitely known can the process of recovery be set in motion, either by checking the operation of the actual causes or by bringing into play the action of new causes. But what are the normal economic functions? Concerning the norms to which the health of the *individual* human organism is subject medical judgments are more or less in agreement. But about the norms of well-being in relation to the *collective* body politic our experts are hopelessly divided.

Economic normality, however, is not the same thing as social normality. Although economic prosperity is the root of social well-being its efflorescence may be epitomized under the term "cultural." Solvent banks, flourishing trade, a perfect balance of supply and demand are means and not ends. The word "commonwealth" aptly suggests the course and fruition of social purpose. A community cannot be considered "wealthy" unless diffuse possessions of economic goods enable its members to live the good life. Business is an element in culture and not the whole of it. Accordingly, material riches must be regarded as

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ancillary to cultural riches. The enduring wealth of a society is ultimately stored away in its treasures of art and literature, of religion and knowledge. All social aspiration may thus indeed be spoken of as consisting in the creation and preservation of a "commonwealth"; but the word must mean what it says, namely, collective interest and participation in all the riches produced by man's creative efforts. The degree of such interest and participation is the measure of social normality. A society resting on an economic structure that exposes multitudes to idleness, want and fear contains as much "illth" (the expression is Ruskin's) as "wealth," and is precluded from functioning as a single community inspired by common ideals and common loyalties. Such a society will exemplify moral and intellectual timidity. It will be the seat of extravagance in art and religion. And though it is the "natural" product of physical and historical causes, a society of this kind will not be the "normal" embodiment of the good life. To describe it as a "sick" society in need of "recovery" implies the pre-existence of a sound condition from which it has departed. Until a date is fixed for this pre-existing condition we cannot talk of recovery without talking nonsense.

If the word "common" be taken in a distributive sense and the word "wealth" in its widest connotation a normal commonwealth typifies an ideal rather than an achievement. And what a society might be is the criterion or norm for judging its actual present state. The contrast is not between what a society is and what it was but rather between what it is and what it should be. And what it should be cannot be divorced from what it is. Social normality is not an original state to be regained but an eventual state to be won. It lies ahead and not behind.

This brings me to the second point. If to recover means to return rather than to advance, the concept of recovery suggests a philosophy essentially "reactionary." On the assumption that lack of normality signifies lapse from well-being, social change can have but one meaning—revival of the good old days. A glory has passed away from the earth. Those who think thus

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of the past may well be pardoned for their effort to resurrect it. But sentimental idealization of former days is particularly characteristic of the valetudinarian. His ideal is to be what he was—a "normal" self. The valetudinarian is the typical reactionary. His hope of recovery, though turned forward, has a face with eyes set in the back of its head. "Once," said the Mock Turtle, "I was a real Turtle." The spirit and attitude of the ailing reactionary can hardly find a more perfect expression.

The philosophy of the Mock Turtle at present governs many minds. Once, they cry, we had real prosperity. With the return to the glamorous past as desideratum, is it any wonder that recovery and reform should appear to them as antithetical? The paramount need of society is, they say, to get well again. Just as a man broken in health must be made whole before subjecting him to new activities designed to modify his future life, so society should not be made to follow strange ways, whether economic or political, while it is still suffering from an acute disorder. Reform retards recovery. Before recovery, reform is precipitate; after recovery, reform is superfluous. Accordingly, economic and political experiments are to be frowned upon as dangerous innovations. Reformers should beware lest in their zeal for change they subvert the principles underlying the traditional assurance of prosperity. The slogan "recovery without reform" is the battle-cry of those who believe that society has fallen from the high estate it once enjoyed. Hence not innovation but renovation is said to be the supreme need.

But the logic that challenges this view is equally cogent. Our present evil, it is held, cannot be interpreted as a fall from grace. Halcyon days never existed. The desire for a return to former years, involved in the emphasis on recovery, ignores the elastic boundaries of human prosperity. The normal "commonwealth" is yet to be achieved. The malady from which society suffers, if malady it be called, is a case of frustration rather than deterioration. To change the conditions that thwart full attainment of normal well-being, which is the essence of reform, is the recurrent theme of those who envisage a "new"

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social order. Hence their opposition to "recovery without reform"; progress, they maintain, demands adjustment of social behavior to an environment continually changing under the influence of modern science. The philosophy which subordinates recovery to reform is realistic; it pays heed to the revolution which scientific intelligence and the industrial arts have wrought in things as they are, and urges the pursuit of untried courses of action in the face of unprecedented problems and issues. It is committed to experimentalism as a definite policy. Above all, it makes central the belief that economic forces are amenable to conscious control and that the inauguration of a collective polity is less utopian than the renascence of the obsolete practices of individual *laissez faire*. Of this philosophy there are many variants, all proceeding from the same postulate that recovery, in the sense of a rehabilitation of the old, is neither feasible nor desirable.

In legal parlance recovery has a meaning altogether free from therapeutic associations. It stands for the act or the art of regaining possession of something to which one has a rightful claim. A man may seek in a suit at law to obtain redress of some actual or fancied grievance. Whether the alleged injury is to his property or person, the injury is represented as a loss or violation of his right. If he wins his suit he simply wins back or recovers what he claims is his due. Fundamental to this conception of recovery is the idea of right. All litigation is an assertion of claims and counterclaims, the aim of which is to determine in law or equity the respective merits of rival contentions. Recovery is thus synonymous with a return to the enjoyment of rights proved to have been infringed, the administration of justice resting on the postulate that men are claimants of rights which ought not to be violated. Viewed forensically, recovery presupposes a system of rights which governments exist to protect.

Now when the social order is said to be in need of recovery, and when recovery is a term borrowed from jurisprudence rather than medicine, the reference is clearly to a loss of rights

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to which individuals think they have a claim. Certain rights have been lost, it is charged. And if the charge is sustained, then recovery must signify a reversion to the tenets that make the free enjoyment of rights the foundation of our society. The diagnosis, be it noted, is primarily moral and only secondarily economic, since material well-being is asserted to hinge upon the undisturbed exercise of "inalienable rights"; and the remedy proffered is in terms of principles and not in terms of the mechanism of the market. For the appeal to law and equity shifts the center of gravity from the mere play of economic forces to a rational justification of it. And if loss of rights is the assumed cause of social instability, their retrieval being the paramount need, what rights have been lost, and by whom?

Are the rights in need of restoration the rights of property? By no means. Both *de facto* and *de jure* their maintenance is beyond question. No citizen has as yet been dispossessed of anything without "due process of law." That famous clause in the Constitution is still valid and recent decisions of the Supreme Court, however "liberal," have not weakened its force. The legitimacy of governmental control over trade and finance is generally admitted so long as such control conforms to the provisions of the Constitution.

So great indeed is the prestige of property rights that the fate of the Constitution itself is supposed to depend upon their inviolability, as if other rights were not coequal and coeval with them. There are those for whom the Constitution, which is a political instrument, is nothing more than an economic charter guaranteeing but one kind of liberty. They hold this truth to be self-evident, that the free pursuit of economic self-interest, the free exploitation of economic opportunities and the free disposal of acquired property are primary and absolute rights. This doctrine, inherited from the past, dominates the minds of our influential citizens. It is thus inopportune or premature to preach recovery of property rights. Not being lost they cannot be recovered.

To be recovered, other rights, equally inalienable, must be

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shown to have suffered some loss. What are they? The occasional curtailment of civil rights, though serious, is not incorrigible. Interference with freedom of speech and assembly is sporadic and actionable. The circumscription of these rights does not form a part of governmental policy. Such violations as occur are symptoms of unreasoned fear rather than of deliberate design. Formally, at any rate, the "bill of rights" has not been discarded. Nor are political rights in grave jeopardy. We are still free to vote and to hold office. And they who govern us continue to clothe their authority with the mantle of our consent. The principles of democracy have not lost their rhetorical resonance. Even those bent upon their perversion find it wise to pay lip-service to them. To save our democracy, it is contended, we must suspend it in fighting its enemies. To insure the perpetuation of civil and political rights we must withhold them from the advocates of revolution. This, of course, is a paradox, but it is a paradox which affirms in theory, though not in practice, the sacredness of rights other than the rights of property.

The theory is sound. And because it *is* sound, the desuetude of those fundamental rights that are not compatible with property rights becomes a matter of great concern. For civil and political rights, as well as property rights, are derived from deeper rights. These the Declaration of Independence specifically mentions as inalienable. They are "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Can it be shown that, under modern conditions, these natural rights tend to be lost in the exclusive defense of property rights?

The right to life, for example, is a mockery to the victims of economic individualism. The right to starve is hardly the equivalent of the right to live. Strange comfort to the millions of idle men and women that they cannot be killed "without due process of law." Yet they are condemned to death by starvation by an economic system based upon production for private gain. It is the mechanism of the market, a mechanism that cannot be disturbed without challenging the rights of individuals

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to the free pursuit of profit and capital, which holds in suspense the fate of multitudes. To be told that one has an inalienable right to life but no rights whatsoever to anything that sustains life—what a travesty of justice! In the absence of equal opportunity of work is it inconsistent with the canons of Americanism to demand public control of the industrial system in behalf of rights that are more primordial? There is nothing in the Declaration of Independence or in the Constitution to sanctify an economic individualism which in effect alienates rights solemnly declared to be inalienable. The denial of the right to live, a right inseparable from the right to work for a living, is defensible only on the cynical assumption that our charter of liberty is a charter of license for a special class of profit-makers.

The right to liberty, though inalienable, is not absolute. But as with the right to life, so with the right to liberty; no definition can be accepted as valid which in practice precludes its enjoyment. A great man has this to say about liberty:

> The world has never had a good definition of the word liberty, and the American people, just now, are much in want of one. . . . With some the word liberty may mean for each to do as he pleases with himself, and the product of his labor; while with others the same word may mean for some men to do as they please with other men, and the product of other men's labor. Here are two, not only different, but incompatible things, called by the same name, liberty. And it follows that each of the things is, by the respective parties, called by two different and incompatible names—liberty and tyranny. The shepherd drives the wolf from the sheep's throat, for which the sheep thanks the shepherd as his liberator, while the wolf denounces him for the same act as the destroyer of liberty. . . . Plainly, the sheep and the wolf are not agreed upon a definition of the word liberty.

This is not a "subversive" thrust of a modern radical aimed at the American Liberty League. It is an utterance of Abraham Lincoln's, made in 1864, with special reference to slavery. Yet how relevant today! Those opposed to what they call "regimentation" of industry and business may be quite sincere in their solicitude for the liberty of "each" to do as he pleases with himself and the product of his labor, but the freedom

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they glorify cannot be enjoyed by "all." Very few free agents actually control the economic regime under which we live. The captains of industry and finance, however numerous, constitute but a small portion of the population. *Their* freedom of initiative and enterprise is at bottom indistinguishable from the freedom to exercise dominion over other men. How free are the unemployed to do as they please with the product of their labor? Denied the right to work, they are free to starve. And how free are the employed? In accordance with the legal fiction of "free contract" they are free agents: their labor is a commodity which they may sell or withhold under the conditions determined by the mechanism of the market. But when the alternative is hunger or destitution, freedom of contract becomes a pathetic fallacy. The truth is that an acquisitive commercialism inevitably develops into an industrial empire in which some men are economic masters and other men are economic slaves. It is perhaps impossible to build such an empire without the liberty of some to do as they please with other men and the product of other men's labor. But let us be careful, as Lincoln was, not to confuse the liberty of the wolf with the liberty of the sheep.

So long as there are sheep in our economic world, fated to remain such under the operation of rugged individualism, the right to the pursuit of happiness, though democratic in principle, is not democratic in fact. How can those who are either cast out or ground down by an industrial regime designed for the pursuit of profit pursue a happy life? Only those who are secure against economic want or serfdom possess autonomy to seek what happiness seems to them worth finding. And in practice the right of each and all to pursue happiness has become a myth, comparable to the legal fiction that a poor man who makes a wage contract with a rich man is actually "free." The right to pursue happiness, like the right to life and to liberty, must be viewed as prior to the right to pursue profits and not as subsidiary to it. Otherwise its universal enjoyment is virtually nullified.

If the rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are

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truly inalienable, and are the source from which all other rights are derived, then their loss or threatened loss by an acquisitive commercialism defines the theme of a great debate. What is the original "frame of reference" of canonical Americanism? Is it a declaration of democratic principles and aspirations which no particular economic system must be suffered to abridge? Or is it the apotheosis of a particular economic system, all human rights being conditioned upon its maintenance and perpetuation? Those who hold to the latter opinion are justified in stigmatizing as "un-American" or "subversive" attempts to reform or to transform the present economic order. But those who take the former view may make use of the same epithets to describe the efforts that tend to withhold from the American people the equal enjoyment of equal rights conferred upon them by their political charter. When in the course of human events the vested rights of private gain come to entail, as the price of their conservation, the curtailment of more primordial rights, can their defense at such a price be vindicated by the principles laid down in the Declaration of Independence? Many Americans follow Lincoln in their passionate regard for that document. They seek to remember forgotten rights rather than forgotten men. The recovery of these rights, condemned to obsolescence by current economic theory and practice, seems to them synonymous with a renaissance of orthodox Americanism. But their recovery, required to make Americanism again a fighting faith and a real hope, depends upon the possibility of inducing profound changes in the established economic system. What changes are called for, and by what method shall they be brought about?

Not *laissez faire*, then, but economic reform is what recovery involves when the things to be recovered are lost rights rather than lost profits. Recovery *is* reform if the unhindered exploitation of economic opportunities, for which a charter of natural rights is supposed to furnish ethical justification, contravenes in practice the very rights the charter guarantees as inviolable. For the right to pursue profits is not the only right that is

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"natural." To curb its unlimited exercise by a planned economy, designed to make "equality of opportunity" a fact and not a fiction, is to safeguard constitutional liberty against predatory license. What is now spoken of as "economic recovery," which means resumption of "business as usual," thus threatens to retard the "recovery of rights," when the rights are those fundamental ones to the defense of which the American Republic is in theory assumed to be dedicated.

The word recovery is thus big with many implications. It epitomizes divergent attitudes toward the present order. On the one hand it represents the "conservative" longing for economic restoration; on the other it expresses the "liberal" desire for social reconstruction. But in both cases, recovery suggests something lost, be it our lost prosperity or our lost democracy, in need of rehabilitation.

Because the word recovery carries with it the meaning of something old to be retrieved rather than of something new to be found its pertinency to the present social scene may well be questioned. We need a word that will focus attention not on the past but on the future; that will signify an advance instead of a return. Analogies drawn from the therapeutic and forensic arts conceal from us the unprecedented and complex nature of our contemporary issues. If we must have analogies let us obtain them from the work of modern science. When phenomena of nature emerge with which the established theories are unable to cope, the method of science imposes the necessity of experimenting with fresh hypotheses. The most pregnant expression in the vocabulary of science is not recovery but, if I may play upon the word, discovery. To discover new and creative ways of thinking and acting—this is now the imperative task in the face of one of the great crises in human history.

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Banality on the March

PETER VIERECK

(On being informed that the "modern" poet's duty is to be the "mouthpiece of the masses" and to write "proletarian verse.")

Our fathers sweated night and day
To climb so high this tiresome way
To the top top top—the more fools they!

Sit down shake shoes out rest a little
The maps are burnt the guideposts brittle.

Lie down we'll never reach the top.
It's getting dark we'd like to stop.

We'd like to roll but lack that part
With which men will to stop or start.

We need an outside hand's behest
Then momentum does the rest.

Give us but a little shove
You'll be Leader throned above.

All your enemies we'll crush
Give us but a little push.

All earth's power will be yours
Except the power to halt our course.

All's one in the end republic dictator
We're the lowest common dominator.

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The American Scholar

Feed our bodies not our souls:
Fatter body faster rolls,

Rolls library down and cathedral arch—
We are banality on the march.

Our strength is as the strength of ten
Because we are all replaceable men,

All alike and when we die
Replace from infinite supply.

We're solid and streamlined efficient and clean,
Hatched fresh from the mass-production machine.

We want life on one level; what
Stands vertical we roll down flat.

What is sainthood? What is evil?
We've flattened God we'll flatten Devil.

Let's slap each other on the back
Good old pal resounding whack:

Volksgenosse Rotary Club
Tovarich comrade nation pub.

Knight in our triumphant band
Just let your soul run through your hand
Like—banal metaphor—so much sand.

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Opera in the United States: A Problem and a Challenge

ROBERT LAWRENCE

OPERA is an international product and as such it is virtually the first form of music to be affected by the present world upheaval. Antiquated European traditions, against which American critics and music-lovers have struggled vainly for years, are now on the way out—not through choice but necessity. All three of the first-class opera companies in this country—the Metropolitan Opera Association and the Chicago and San Francisco companies (the St. Louis Opera Company enjoys so brief a season that, whatever the quality of its performances, it cannot be included in a serious survey)—are feeling the effects of the current crisis.

How is the largest of these, the Metropolitan, holding up in a changing civilization? A *laissez-faire* philosophy dominates almost all of its presentations. Except in newly-mounted revivals, singers are expected to provide their own costumes; the stage director is a creature born of whatever spare time is available; there are no house rules as to whether artists may or may not acknowledge applause during the action. The one gesture made in the direction of unified opera is the printed request, within the program, that the audience abstain from applause at the end of an act so long as the music continues.

Musically, the performances at the Metropolitan are often good. An improved orchestra does frequent justice to the more difficult scores. Many of the singers are competent and some of them distinguished. But matters of dollars and cents rather than genuine adaptability to the operas at hand sometimes determine the casting. While first-rank artists who are paid by the performance make several appearances during the season, their

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places are too often taken by lesser singers paid according to a weekly stint that may include roles for which they are not fitted.

Dramatically, most of the Metropolitan's staging bears little relationship to our time. Contributing factors beyond the management's control are, of course, the lack of proper storage space within the theater itself, necessitating the use of painted "flats," which can be transported easily, instead of modern plastic scenery. Also, in the absence of a governmental subsidy, there is not enough money available to refurbish all of the settings in the repertoire, even with a new application of the time-honored "flats" tradition.

It *is* the fault of the Metropolitan, however, that the most inadequate of these productions are not withdrawn until new ones are available. Such settings as those for Donizetti's *Lucia di Lammermoor*, in which the scenery is almost hanging in shreds, and for Verdi's *Aïda*, whose Egyptian antiquity assumes a gaudy and wrinkled Neapolitan cast, are inexcusable. It is true that the management has made some progress in this direction, offering a handsome and fresh production this year of Verdi's *Il Trovatore*, executed by Harry Horner. But much remains to be done.

Even more disturbing is the lack of any unity in action or costuming. At a recent performance of Wagner's *Die Walküre*, the Wotan was arrayed in a musty cloak of red velvet which shone, but not with enthusiasm. The same afternoon found Wotan's consort, Fricka, in a mantle of Chinese yellow; Siegmund wore a bearskin beneath which protruded a clean white shirt; Sieglinde, clad in hour-glass fashion, boasted a robe that straitened her expansive figure; Hunding was done up in ursine style; only the Brünnhilde of this motley ensemble approached anything resembling taste and theatrical modernity. Nor was *Die Walküre* an exception during the season recently ended, even if it constituted the most striking departure from reason. There seems to be no centralized artistic authority at the Metropolitan.

There are valid excuses for some of these shortcomings. Many of the artists' managers are unduly commercial, sending

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their clients out for concerts at the very time when they should be rehearsing on the stage. It would be an injustice to the Metropolitan not to mention this fact—a thorn in the side of the company and a practice that militates against honest attempts to secure a unified ensemble. The prohibitive cost of lighting the rehearsals, owing to demands made by backstage unions, is another major obstacle in the Metropolitan's long list of them. Sometimes it seems a miracle that opera can be given at all in the face of such difficulties. But the San Francisco Opera Company, enlisting municipal support, seems to have been able to present scenery and lighting of the first order.

All of which brings us to the basic question: What is opera's function in our national life and how are the opera companies fulfilling their obligations? The Metropolitan, as the longest established of these companies, has won the approval of the public and also its contributions in difficult times. But will a deeply-rooted sentimental interest be enough to save it when it reaches another financial and artistic impasse?

Through the channel of children's books and educational performances and through special radio broadcasts of fifteen minutes' duration the Metropolitan Opera Guild, which has served as a public relations medium for the Metropolitan Opera House, has prepared a nation-wide listening group for the music to be heard over the air during the Saturday matinee performances. But even this audience, achieved at the cost of hard work, may in time become disaffected with shortsighted policies.

There is, for example, the case of the Metropolitan's *corps de ballet*. Now in its third season under the directorship of Boris Romanoff, it has drawn consistently bad reviews. Its premier danseur, Grant Mouradoff, continues to arouse dissension among the subscribers and unanimous hostility among the press. Yet no change is contemplated. The Chicago Opera Company, on the other hand, has taken what seems to me a step in the right direction by contracting during the past season for the services of the Ballet Theater.

Secondly there is the matter of casting. A difficult situation

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has been created in this country owing to the fact that there is no outlet for promising talent except the four opera companies mentioned above. The short season of the St. Louis Company and the brevity of the six-to-eight-week seasons conducted by Chicago and San Francisco add to the problem. Unlike pre-war Europe the United States offers no band of provincial opera houses in which the novice may gain his experience—and only the most unreasonable would demand that a first-class institution open its doors and its leading roles to talent that is unprepared.

The Metropolitan has fulfilled every conceivable obligation toward American singers from the point of view of granting them incentive and opportunity but it has not touched the vital question of their future. Many of the young singers are not conversant with the French, Italian and German languages they utter, except for the given words of the score. Grand opera as produced today is not their metier, not a medium in which they may normally grow from small into big artists. The Metropolitan is filled with "comprimario" singers who will always be bound by a limited horizon. Moreover—during the season just past—leading roles have been taken by several individuals whose only apparent qualifications lay in their foreign birth and training. But the insistence on European traditions when outstanding foreign artists are no longer available, the hostility to opera in English when the form of lyric drama now being given is decaying at the roots, shows a lack of long-range perception. The strength and validity of opera presented in a foreign tongue and exotic style rests upon the presence of the foremost interpreters of these works. In their absence the system may suddenly crash. During this past winter only one opera was given in English at the Metropolitan. It was *The Bartered Bride*, with as incongruous an assortment of foreign accents as could be heard on any stage. Some of the Europeans employed, notably Jarmila Novotna, came through with distinctly enunciated text. But this was hardly a well-considered experiment in translated opera; more must be done in this field before any final conclusions are reached. Unfortunately the writer did not hear the Chicago

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Opera Company's recent presentation of Verdi's *Falstaff* in English, a performance that was highly commended.

Even more serious is the effect of the Metropolitan's international policy upon young conductors. The average singer can learn his languages puppetwise and apply the results to his roles (although most conscientious American artists go beyond this minimum requirement). But as the initial qualification for his apprenticeship the young conductor is expected to be thoroughly versed in four languages. And this situation is notably unfair, for when a foreign conductor, speaking none but his own language, arrives in New York to direct rehearsals he does so exclusively in German, French or Italian as the case may be. To date, only one American-born musician, Edwin McArthur, has held a baton in the Metropolitan's orchestra pit—and he was engaged by a reluctant management. Not one assistant conductor of non-European origin follows his calling in the New York opera house—a depressing outlook for the future. Nor is this situation confined to the Metropolitan.

And what of that unknown quantity, the native stage director? So far as I know, only the small Philadelphia Opera Company has started young people in this branch of the theater. These apprentices would do well, furthermore, not to look to the Metropolitan for guidance, for excessive attention to minutiae at the expense of general line dominates such productions as the current revival of *Alceste*. Wagner productions at the big opera house, although less over-elaborate, are frequently less inventive. All of the French and most of the Italian works at the Metropolitan make small pretense at mise-en-scène. It is claimed that only retired singers who have been in the business for years or artists of Central European birth and upbringing are capable of stage-directing opera. If the warrant for this assertion lies in its present application then the opera house of the future should certainly turn about and engage a man of the American theater, allowing him to work out musical details with the conductor. We need less pretentiousness and more directness.

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The whole future of opera in this country seems bound up with a natural orientation with the contemporary stage. Neither voice nor style, however, should be sacrificed in the process. The experimentalism of the German 1920's still prevailing in some of our conservatories should be avoided as far as possible. Audiences have begun to tire of novelty for its own sake and are asking for a straightforward mounting of plot and *music*.

Where then is the native aspirant to turn? And what will be the fate of "traditional" companies if the supply of musicians from abroad should not only dwindle but continue to deteriorate in quality? A public surfeited with poor singing will begin to look for a compensating beauty and naturalness of staging (there is already evidence that such an evolution in taste is taking place). Audiences, instead of listening to strings of succulent vowels, will insist on understanding the story of the opera down to its subtlest details. This means opera in English. Where are the artists? Where are they to obtain their background?

One thinks immediately of popular-priced companies; but the only venture of this sort that remains standard is the San Carlo Opera troupe under the direction of Fortune Gallo. A survey over a number of years discloses that most of the singers in the Gallo organization do not progress to higher spheres. They are nearly all competent; they sing a repertoire of about twelve standard operas; and in time, after traveling on a highly routined basis, their desire to learn new roles and to sacrifice the financial security of a solidly-booked tour begins to shrink. A commercial road company, while it serves a purpose in preparing audiences for better opera, is no answer to the imperative need for development of native singers and conductors.

Unfortunately there is no young group with power to which this country can look for vital productions of opera. By "vital" I mean not only effective, for there are plenty of effective performances at the Metropolitan Opera and, in the case of Bruno Walter's *Fidelio*, at least one of unusual splendor. By "vital" I am implying the type of production that aims beyond the pleasure of a few thousand patrons who are bi- or tri-lingual in

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their education. The nearest approach to this ideal of popular, tastefully-produced opera is being carried on—once more—by the Philadelphia Opera Company, a talented group under the direction of Sylvan Levin. But as yet this troupe has neither the financial influence nor the public backing that can make such a venture fertile.

What, in general, is being done to further operatic ideals? How are young singers being endowed with an artistic conscience? At the Juilliard Graduate School in New York City or at its summer outlet, the Chautauqua Opera Company? At the Curtis School in Philadelphia? (I mention Eastern institutions because of my greater familiarity with them.) Both of these conservatories have moved in the right direction, but neither of them has taken the initial step in what must be a logical chain of circumstances: the creation of a road company endowed with modest but sufficient resources, made up of young (and occasionally older) singers, conductors and technicians, with a tour booked to include most of the towns of the country. Only through solid demonstrations by such a group may small communities be inspired to support their own opera. When the capital of the United States, despite its monumental architecture and new art gallery, cannot include an opera house among its achievements, state capitals can hardly be blamed for their backwardness. Cities of this type must hear, not the "tour" variety of Metropolitan Opera, exhibited in a local arena with little regard for stage logic, nor the simultaneously efficient and dispiriting performances of the San Carlo brand, but a troupe of well-integrated singing actors who make the opera at hand clear and enjoyable. If a permanent—not fashionable—audience for lyric drama can thus be built, a suitable auditorium may be erected in the town and a local company organized.

This is not a new idea. It has merely failed so far in its application. Dozens of mushroom bands calling themselves Music-Drama Leagues, or employing similar titles, are flooding the land. Some of them have ideals; many of them are the puppets of vocal teachers, created to attract pupils; all of them lack

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money and most of them have no artistic standing. If a magnificently endowed conservatory like the Juilliard Graduate School does not take the first step in creating a permanent company, and if state and civic authorities on hearing good performances do not follow suit, how else may graduates be placed?

The situation is a serious one. As produced right now opera has no roots in our soil; it appeals only to those who have an extensive linguistic background or to first- and second-generation families from France, Germany or Italy. With all other listeners it is a cultural luxury which will be among the first to disappear in times of stress. But world events, catastrophic as they are in loss of life and livelihood, may be shaping a new artistic destiny for this country. In our musical outlook we are years behind the times. We have depended far too long upon Europe, its musical works and its executants. A national opera, with many small houses to feed it, producing masterpieces sung in our language and mounted according to the precepts of the contemporary theater, changing as those precepts change, would form an inseparable part of our lives. The chief opera house of the nation might be located in Washington, D. C., with three great branches in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Prominent cities of lesser population, developing conductors, singers and régisseurs who would ultimately take their places in the highest ranks, would be the next to come into this scheme. And last but most important of all there would be the smaller companies, in medium-sized communities—those that might spring into being following the successful visit of a conservatory troupe. It would be here, in an atmosphere of experimentation and travail, that young artists might come into their own.

This plan, I repeat, is not new. It has formed the successful core of the European operatic system for many years. At least part of Europe's cultural approach is worth salvaging. And the growth of a national opera, the absorption of the Metropolitan into a more comprehensive scheme of things, in which it might function as a vital but not sacrosanct unit, seems to hold the only assurance for the future of opera in this country.

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Democracy and Christianity

WHITNEY J. OATES

CHRISTIANITY from its very inception has continually faced the problem of its relation to the state and to all the other various forms of secularism. Beyond doubt in the Middle Ages the Church held the most favored position it has ever known, for during that period the several aspects of culture were more or less in stable balance and definitely subordinate to religion and religious institutions. But in the Renaissance Western Europe witnessed an increasing process of secularization, subsequently accelerated by the new development of scientific spirit and the beginnings of modern philosophy. Hence, since the Middle Ages the secular has steadily grown in power and the influence of the religious has correspondingly diminished. In our present chaotic situation the tendencies of the last three centuries appear in an exaggerated form. Christianity, which every serious person genuinely committed to the faith believes should hold the dominant position in our civilization, is not dominant; whereas secular institutions, particularly political and economic, are in the ascendant. For both the religious and the secular the outlook is none too promising. Christianity is continually battling to extend its influence over wider areas, most often with little success. The secular, particularly in its political forms, is finding that it cannot maintain its supremacy without some religious sanction, and consequently is busy manufacturing spurious religious faiths to bolster up its own inadequacies. If this be at all a fair analysis of the situation, then at the present moment the secular and the religious are desperately in need of one another in this sense: the secular cannot function without religious sanction, while the religious needs the secular, for only by coordinating and inte-

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grating secular activities can the religious in any sense be said to have attained its proper goal.

An attempt to bring the religious and the secular into a sound relationship appeared recently in a book by Mr. T. S. Eliot entitled *The Idea of a Christian Society*. This contained the text of three lectures which he delivered at Cambridge University in March of 1939. To be sure, Mr. Eliot approaches the question from the point of view of the Church, and of course considers at length the relation of the Church to the secular institution of the State and to society as a whole. The author is unsparing in his criticism of "liberalism" run riot and its emasculating effects upon society when carried to the extreme toward which it has tended in recent years. He likewise attacks vigorously the complacency of certain so-called Christian states, arguing that such states like to think of themselves as Christian but that they do so out of a deep self-delusion. The self-styled Christian state can thus gloss over its own insufficiencies on the one hand, and on the other can reinforce its conviction that it is therefore far superior to neighboring states it contemptuously labels pagan. Most so-called Christian states today, Eliot asserts, contain societies which are either completely negative or at the very best neutral; and he continues, with an obvious reference to the contemporary situation, these neutral or negative Christian states stand in supreme danger from their pagan enemies since these enemies, far from being negative or neutral, are positive in the extreme. Of course he concludes that the problems of society can be solved only by religion and that the only religion capable of supplying a solution is a genuine and positive Christianity.

Eliot's specific theories about the "idea" or goal of a Christian society are perhaps not relevant here inasmuch as they are directed almost exclusively to the situation as he finds it now in England, where the relationship between Church and State has evolved into its own peculiar form. Many of his suggestions and ideas are notable not only for their penetration but also for their applicability to English society, the English State and its Estab-

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lished Church; and it should readily be admitted that his critique of nihilistic liberalism and the pseudo-Christian state is most timely. Yet in his enthusiasm for asserting the primacy of Christianity he is led into certain unfortunate conclusions concerning democracy as a form of government. One should remember, however, that Eliot is attacking a tendency of the times which he believes to be unsound, *viz.*, the making of a fetish out of democracy, the seeking to regard it as the one and only cure for all the ills of the day without a proper regard for the fact that, as he believes, Christianity alone holds the proper sovereign specifics. But even if we remember why Eliot argues as he does we are inclined, if our belief in democracy is at all sincere, to resent such a statement as this:

> . . . the term "Democracy" is at the height of its popularity. When a term has become so universally sanctified as "Democracy" now is, I begin to wonder whether it means anything, in meaning too many things. . . . Some persons have gone so far as to affirm, as something self-evident, that democracy is the only régime compatible with Christianity; on the other hand, the word is not abandoned by sympathisers with the government of Germany. If anybody ever attacked democracy, I might discover what the word meant. (pp. 11-12)

That this quotation reflects substantially Mr. Eliot's feeling about democracy becomes more evident when he comments on a letter published in the London *Times* from a certain General Fuller who styles himself a "British Fascist." General Fuller says that he is "a firm believer in the democracy of Mazzini, because he places duty to the nation before individual rights" (p. 69). Eliot adds, "From my point of view, General Fuller has as good a title to call himself a 'believer in democracy' as anyone else." Or to select another passage, Eliot writes:

> As political philosophy derives its sanction from ethics, and ethics from the truth of religion, it is only by returning to the eternal source of truth that we can hope for any social organization which will not, to its ultimate destruction, ignore some essential aspect of reality. (p. 64)

Thus far no one who takes the claims of Christianity seriously

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can reject Eliot's contention that ethics and political philosophy derive from "the truth of religion." One more selection from the book gives I think the author's most categorical statement on the problem:

> To identify any particular form of government with Christianity is a dangerous error: for it confounds the permanent with the transitory, the absolute with the contingent. . . . We have no assurance that a democratic régime might not be as inimical to Christianity in practice, as another might be in theory: and the best government must be relative to the character and the stage of intelligence and education of a particular people in a particular place at a particular time. (pp. 57-58)

Eliot's thesis doubtless has a strong appeal for many individuals. But if his premises lead to the rejection of democracy one may properly wonder whether his whole argument is well conceived. In his denial of democracy may not Eliot be presenting a kind of religious authoritarianism or even "totalitarianism" which would be unfortunate in the extreme? Must anyone, Christian or non-Christian alike, *necessarily* believe that "to identify any particular form of government with Christianity is a dangerous error"? General Fuller when he espouses a polity that places "duty to the nation before individual rights" may have no title at all to call himself a "believer in democracy." Furthermore a kind of pernicious defeatism seems to pervade Mr. Eliot's thought when he wonders whether democracy "means anything, in meaning too many things." There is little logic in the argument that a thing does not exist if a word which originally was applied to it has subsequently been applied, or rather misapplied, to other different things with a resultant confusion of meaning. This amounts to a very dangerous form of nominalism. Hence it is justifiable to call Eliot defeatist, since he obviously does not really face the issue as it is presented. If misapplication of a term has caused confusion then the obligation of the thoughtful person is to see to it that the term is applied correctly only and not simply to say, "Here is confusion, and there is nothing to do about it." In other words, so far as democracy is concerned one must first determine accurately its

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basic meaning—discover its essential characteristics as a political system—and then rigorously refuse to employ the term elsewhere. One could even use Eliot's argument, with appropriate changes, against Christianity itself, by wondering whether it "means anything in meaning too many things." Therefore I should like to attempt now to develop a fundamental meaning for the term democracy—one with a definite and positive content—and to show how this is logically related to Christianity at its core and hence is supremely compatible with it. This of course is possible only if we deny at the outset Eliot's contention that it is a dangerous error "to identify any particular form of government with Christianity" because the procedure "confounds the absolute with the contingent." I am prepared to deny the validity of this proposition and hope to show in the course of the ensuing argument that it involves a radical misconception of the conditions on which human life is lived.

Let us approach the whole question as objectively as possible and in the full spirit of a healthy skepticism. One can argue, I believe, with no danger of being refuted, that every human individual born into this world faces two fundamental dilemmas: first, How much is he *worth* as an individual? and second, How much can he *know* with certainty? So far as the first dilemma is concerned there are many items of evidence that are contrary and violently opposed. From one point of view the individual seems to be worth everything. On introspection an immediate conviction arises that the individual is supremely valuable, that he is obligated to realize himself to the fullest possible extent and that nothing should be done to impair this condition. Certain poets of the Romantic period perfectly exemplify the attitude—which of course can lead inevitably to extremes of egocentricity and individualism in the bad sense. On the other hand there are many indications that the individual is worth nothing. This conclusion seems almost inescapable when he is viewed, for example, in terms of astronomical space or of geological time, or in terms of the millions of population now living or of the billions upon billions who have already lived and died.

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When we turn to the dilemma involved in the degree of certainty to which man's knowledge can attain, we face a question not unrelated to the problem of man's worth. The plain and brutal facts of this corollary dilemma seem to be, first, that man has a passionate, instinctive craving for final certainty in knowledge, as Aristotle explicitly noted long ago in the opening sentence of his *Metaphysics*, wherein he says, "All men by nature desire to know." But, though man does seem universally to possess this craving, he meets in experience the cold fact that he is by the conditions of life denied final certainty in knowledge.

There can be no doubt that these two dilemmas set up in men terrific tensions and conflicts which frequently tear them to pieces and destroy them. Often because the pressure is so great, men are led to adopt some extreme solution—a solution which is immediately easy and may provide a momentary panacea for their difficulties. This type of response does not really resolve the underlying conflict because it amounts merely to the arbitrary and willful elimination of one of the opposing elements and not to their genuine mediation. One may therefore conclude that it is necessary to resolve or mediate these two paradoxes or dilemmas of human existence in order to avoid the disastrous results of their tension.

There are two spheres above all, the political and the religious, in which it is absolutely necessary to consider the problems raised by the dilemmas; and it is with these spheres that we are most concerned when we are seeking to determine the relation between democracy and Christianity. The history of political theory shows clearly that democracy at its best has consistently as a polity attempted to resolve the paradox regarding the worth of the individual. However imperfectly in the course of history various so-called democracies have attained to the ideal in this respect, there is still ample evidence for the conclusion that basic to all democratic thought there is a deep commitment to the positive worth of the individual—to the proposition that man, by his very nature as man, possesses dignity. As Thomas Mann says so well in his brilliant lecture, *The Coming*

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Victory of Democracy, "We must define democracy as that form of government and of society which is inspired above every other with the feeling and consciousness of the dignity of man." (p. 19) In reality it is a belief in the dignity of man that allows democracy with some measure of confidence to give the sovereign power to the people themselves. Democratic thought also accords man freedom, for that state alone is consonant with his intrinsic dignity. And we can never forget that real freedom for man always carries with it the corollary responsibility for the use he makes of it. Hence then democracy is committed to the belief in human dignity, freedom and responsibility, or in political terms, the belief that people can govern themselves.

By such a fundamental commitment democracy obviously avoids the extremes implicit in the paradox. It rigorously rejects the extreme of individualism. Democracy cannot and does not countenance the notion that every man is a complete law unto himself, which in turn is tantamount to political anarchy or political chaos, for the freedom granted to the people under democracy demands that they impose upon themselves certain laws and limitations; that is, they impose such restraints as each individual must accept in order that the rights and privileges of his fellow-citizens, who like himself possess dignity, may be guaranteed and in no wise impaired. Democracy just as rigorously rejects the other extreme of the paradox, namely, that the individual possesses no dignity. The implications of this extreme are most obvious, for if the individual possesses no intrinsic worth the only appropriate political system is autocracy or tyranny. As a matter of cold brute fact this is precisely the theory expressed by our contemporary European tyrants who explicitly maintain that men are completely lacking in individual dignity. The tyrant can therefore conclude with some measure of plausibility that men are happiest when someone is giving them orders, telling them what to do and completely relieving them of the responsibility of self-discipline and self-direction, those obligations at the root of democratic political theory.

When we look at democracy in terms of our other paradox

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concerning the certainty of human knowledge, we find it frankly accepting the fact that human knowledge is finite in the political sphere. It admits man's craving to know and that this must be satisfied, but it avoids the extreme of skepticism to which some thinkers have been reduced in despair and bitter disappointment when they have realized they could not reach final certainty. Democracy manifestly does not admit that man is completely unable to do anything about politics. But democracy likewise cannot accept the other extreme, that of absolute political dogmatism—the dogmatism found in a tyranny where an individual or small ruling clique is convinced that he or it alone possesses the absolute political truth in its complete totality. Democracy realizes, rather, that the process of arriving at the best political solutions is a very slow and painful one, continually changing in its methods and its special techniques as it meets each new situation, but always moving under and guided by the broad general first principles upon which democracy rests. It will not commit itself to a frozen and congealed political dogmatism which believes it always knows all the answers. Persons holding such a view are politically guilty, so to speak, of the combined sins of intellectual and spiritual pride. But democracy, to be free from these sins, is willing to sacrifice the advantages of immediate efficiency (always the most potent, though superficial, attraction of dictatorship); and it can do so with confidence because it is facing squarely and with supreme realism that universal condition of life, *viz.*, the finitude of human knowledge. Hence democracy believes that the combined workings of many minds will gradually evolve more and more adequate solutions to the persistent problems of politics.

In terms of this analysis of the two dilemmas we may define democracy as that form of government which believes in man's individual worth and recognizes fully the limitations of his knowledge.

When we move from the political to the religious sphere there can be no argument that Christianity at its best—now for the moment broadly conceived, without reference to specific

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sectarian or doctrinal differences—has resolved or mediated the paradox of the dignity and worth of man. Obviously in the Christian scheme of things no individual can be allowed to deify himself, nor on the other hand does Christianity look upon his individuality as insignificant or valueless. Unquestionably it rejects the implications for the individual inherent in the extreme forms of negative mysticism, or the philosophy, for example, of such an oriental religion as Buddhism in which the individual ultimately is swallowed up and obliterated in the ineffable absolute of Nirvana. In sharp opposition to both these extremes, Christianity strongly asserts the high value of man. It grants him freedom and its corollary of responsibility. Christianity at its best holds that God never coerces the individual to bring his human will into conformity with the divine but rather leaves the individual to make his own choice, to be responsible for his choice and to work out his own salvation on these terms. From the Christian point of view, if man's human lot were not of this particular sort he would not possess individual dignity or value —in other words he would not genuinely deserve to be called God's creature. But further, Christianity absolutely insists that man be valued in proper perspective in relation to his fellows and to his God. Man must realize that his own individual value derives from God and has God ultimately for its sanction. Or to express the point in another way, it demands that man possess the virtue of humility.

In the face of our second dilemma concerning the extent and certainty of human knowledge, Christianity presents us with complicated data that are not easy to interpret. The Christian view surely relieves man of the incubus of skepticism in the bad sense, and at the same time its central nature as a revealed religion enables it in some measure to satisfy man's inherent craving to know. Likewise in recognizing the finite nature of the mind of man it admits the limits beyond which human knowledge cannot go. For example it would maintain that a believer can know God, but it would not credit the claim of any man who insisted he knew God absolutely and in His complete totality.

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Rather such a person would be condemned as guilty of spiritual pride. Christianity, though it would declare it gives powerful clues as to the central structure of reality, would by no means insist that it provides man with the absolute total truth in all its detailed ramifications. Or, to put the matter in another way, the answers to the final mysteries of life which the Christian derives from his religion are in the Christian view significant adumbrations of the total truth. He regards these as legitimate objects of reasonable faith or belief. They cannot, therefore, be held to have the status of final, absolute knowledge, though by that fact their human efficacy for the Christian is not impaired, for they are after all objects of reasonable faith.

If knowledge be taken then to mean final and absolute knowledge, it becomes obvious that human knowledge can never be absolute. Man according to Christian belief is clearly a contingent being and, if so, all his activities must be contingent. All his knowledge or his knowing activities will therefore be to some extent contingent, and his knowledge of God and the verities of his religion will be only that which is possible for a finite being, *viz.*, not an absolute but a contingent knowledge.

We are now, perhaps, in a position to answer Mr. Eliot's contention that it is a dangerous error to identify Christianity with any particular form of government because that is "to confound the permanent with the transitory, the absolute with the contingent." One can, I suppose, define the contingent as that which is conditioned by space and time, and the absolute as that which is non-spatial and non-temporal. If contingent be defined in this fashion, then everything worldly or human is contingent, and hence this is the status of all political institutions and religions. This is of course not to deny that in the Christian view Christianity is absolute, since its real existence is outside of space and time. But Christianity, in so far as it exists in this world—that is, in so far as it is embodied in human beings and in the human institution of the Church—is contingent in the same way as a political institution. Hence the identification of Christianity with a particular form of government does *not* confound the

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absolute with the contingent, for upon analysis they both reveal themselves to be humanly contingent. To be sure, for the Christian this identification involves the relation of a prior contingent with that which is posterior and derivative, since for him Christianity is prior and more permanent because its strength comes directly from God, from the absolute and the permanent.

Consequently our argument perhaps may take this form. In the first place, there seems no metaphysical difficulty in the way of seeing a thorough-going compatibility between Christianity and democracy, if it be true that both Christianity, in its earthly manifestations, and democracy are contingent in the sense defined. We have examined the resolutions to our two basic dilemmas which democracy offers in the political sphere and Christianity in the religious. Even the most casual observer can see their striking similarity. If it be granted that the two dilemmas are fundamental—that is, that in all his activities man must meet these paradoxes adequately—and if an extreme solution of either dilemma introduces great difficulties or even disastrous results, then only a solution that genuinely mediates between the extremes will be satisfactory. Strong evidence can be adduced that both Christianity and democracy genuinely mediate between the extreme solutions of the dilemmas. The most important point, however, is this: the resolutions they offer are *virtually identical*, the only differences being those arising from the differences between the two spheres involved, the religious and the political. One can therefore reasonably conclude that democracy is the counterpart in the political realm to Christianity in the religious; or to express the point in another way, if Christianity is accepted in the religious sphere, in politics democracy is the only logically compatible form of polity possible since it is the only form of government which like Christianity is committed fully and irrevocably to, first, the dignity of man and, second, a frank recognition of the degree of finitude to which man's knowledge can attain.

It should be clear that the foregoing argument is systematic or analytical in character and therefore cannot be attacked on

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the ground that Christianity in various epochs of history has proved itself to some extent compatible with a non-democratic political system. As a matter of fact the alliance between democracy and Christianity is too recent to derive any conclusive evidence from history either for or against the contention that there is a complete affinity between the two. In any event, our analysis of the two basic human dilemmas should indicate that the alliance, which no one can deny, is by no means an accident. Perhaps it might not be irrelevant to observe here that Christianity today approximates its purest and most vital forms far more closely in the democracies than in the totalitarian states.

If we grant the compatibility of democracy and Christianity, what are the implications for a society made up of Christians and non-Christians? How can they function together under a political system so vitally related to Christianity?

If both groups believe in democracy no difficulty should arise. The Christian from his religious point of view can see how democracy's first principles are vitalized by the powerful sanctions of his faith. On the other hand the non-Christian may be unable to accept the validity of these religious sanctions but if he is a man of good will, truly devoted to democracy, he will find himself completely shoulder to shoulder with his Christian fellow citizen whenever the basic principles of democracy are at stake; though unwilling or unable to adopt a full theistic position he will commit himself "to love his neighbor as himself."

We must not only disagree with Mr. Eliot and his defeatist view of democracy; we must accept the challenge of the moment to sharpen, to clarify and to render more precise the philosophy of democracy. This can be done most effectively by exploring its relation to Christianity and by showing how the two are at their roots ultimately compatible. The meeting of this challenge, unquestionably the most vital that faces our society today, demands not final and complete agreement among political theorists and Christian theologians, religious or non-religious citizens of a democracy, but absolutely their wholehearted cooperation.

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From Piety to Entertainment in Children's Books

KIRKOR GUMUCHIAN

AT THE beginning of the 18th century juvenile literature was still in its dark ages. Nothing special at all was written for young children and religion overshadowed the attempt to provide youth with reading matter conducive to any fun or entertainment susceptible of taking them far from everyday duties—at that period more a matter of routine conduct than of self-expression. The amenities of modern civilization as reflected in present-day children's books were nonexistent. Boys and girls had to be content with the prosaic and simple things of life and, quite in keeping with the disciplinary existence they were required to lead, the books they were given to read were devoid of hedonism. The teachings of Keach and his followers were still predominant. In books like his *War with the Devil: or Young-Man's Conflict with the Powers of Darkness*—a far from cheerful work as its title denotes—dialogue ran in the following vein:

YOUTH

Unto some private place then I will fly;
Where I may hide my self and secretly
There I'll enjoy my self in spite of thee,
And thou shalt not in' th' least know where I be.

CONSCIENCE

Nay, foolish Youth, how can that thing be done
From *Conscience* it is in vain to run;
No secret place can you find out, or 'spy,
To hide yourself from me, such is mine Eye;
I see i' th' Dark as well as in the Light,
No Doors nor Walls can keep thee from my sight,

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Where' e'er thou art, or go'st am I not there,
Thy Soul with horrid guilt to scare and fear?

As time progressed texts became less somber, less didactic; nevertheless a moral was invariably hidden beneath the charm of a simple tale. A romp in the country, a party with games, a visit to town and the little joys of life as told to children in words of two syllables or more generally ended in a lecture reminiscent of the schoolroom or the doctrine of the church. Boys and girls were supposed to read only with a view to moral or educational improvement, with little thought to mental stimulation conducive to fun and laughter.

Works of art or other objects from diverse historical periods running back to antiquity have been found with alphabets and syllabic exercises engraved or painted on them—no doubt with the intention of imparting the rudiments of reading to young people. Canon Isaac Taylor in his work *The Alphabet* (London, Kegan Paul, 1883) claimed that the earliest known alphabet and syllables for children were scratched on an early Roman vase, now in the Museo Gregoriano, Rome. The hornbook, which attained its greatest popularity during the 18th century, was also more of a toy than a schoolbook, and according to the theory of John Locke in his *Thoughts on Education* it must have appealed to young scholars for this very reason. Locke wrote:

> There may be Dice and Play-things with letters on them to teach Children the Alphabet by Playing; and twenty other ways may be found, suitable to their particular Tempers, to make this kind of Learning a Sport to them.

Hornbooks held an appropriate place in this respect because during playtime the larger ones could be used as small bats and in the old game of rounders were used to great advantage. This probably accounted for the fact that the hornbooks were also called battledores and the young learners battledore boys. These books served another active purpose also—as an instrument of chastisement. Many a child owed his learning to the

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unorthodox wielding of the hornbook—and the kind made of leather stitched with catgut were no less effective than those made of wood. In the commoner types of hornbooks a piece of transparent horn protected the ABC leaf and held it in place although some had crude alphabets cut into them. In general the leaf was a diminutive broadside containing the alphabet, syllabic exercises and, if space permitted, a quotation from the church or Bible to instill the fear of God. For children of the gentry and more prosperous classes, bone, ivory and silver were used in the hornbooks, some of which were handsome works of art decorated with chasing of a superior order.

In the second half of the 18th century the hornbook or battledore evolved into a printed pasteboard folded two or three times and illustrated with woodcuts which relieved the monotony of didacticism. The first woodcuts were of a religious character but as time progressed and reading for young people became more profane there appeared scenes and objects dealing with contemporary life. For example, cuts depicting the popular "Cries of London" and those of York were used with an upper- and lower-case letter of the alphabet for each Cry. Although not in keeping with the prevailing puritanical attitude, they were copied at a later date by American publishers, among them Jacob Tonson of Philadelphia, who in *The Uncle's Present, a New Battledoor* (*sic*) presented an Alphabet of Cries neatly illustrated with small copper engravings.

A Almanack, will you buy an Almanack?
B Buy a Broom; Mop, Brush or hair broom?

provided children with a sense of the contrast between barter and street life as compared with the thrift and restraint of the household.

In battledores and books alike more amusing matter, including stories of childish pranks to provoke laughter, came into vogue as a counterbalance to moral edicts. Even these, by now, were considerably lighter. The development toward mischief, glorified in Heinrich Hoffmann's *Slovenly Peter* some

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seventy years later, had started. The 18th-century child was already groping for his *raison d'être*!

In America the most popular ABC book was the *New England Primer*. In keeping with New England's straight-laced customs, dating from the time of the Pilgrims, this book retained the traditional didactic purpose of the hornbooks. Next to the Bible (which has nothing particular for children in it) the *New England Primer* was the principal juvenile text stocked in the shops of the towns and general stores of the villages. It was of tiny dimensions—just big enough to fit snugly into a child's pocket—and although it underwent many changes as the years passed, its format remained practically the same. Kings died and portraits of new kings had to be inserted. Later, woodcuts of John Hancock and Samuel Adams were used and after the Revolution, when political changes inevitably crept in, the portrait of George Washington appeared. (The progressive changes brought about by historical events sometimes led to misrepresentation. In some of the editions, for instance, one is likely to see a portrait of George III labeled—this in 1776—John Hancock.) A number of the famous *Songs for Children* by Isaac Watts were now included in the Primer and were also used competitively in other popular texts, notably "*The History of the Holy Jesus . . . being a pleasant and profitable Companion for Children*," the author of which is given as "a Lover of their precious Souls." Songs that began with

> Little darling, quickly rise,
> Morning blushes in the skies;
> Now the prospect all is gay,
> Rise to work, to read, or play.

possessed lyrical charm in contrast to descriptions of "The Burning of Mr. John Rogers" (illustrated with a woodcut of Rogers at the stake) which had been retained in every issue of the Primer since its early printings.

About the time of the 19th century there was a marked

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change in the Primer's teachings. Mundane rhymes from the *English Royal Primer* began to be borrowed. Puritanical influence had begun to decline. No longer was salvation promised to the good and unending fire to the bad. Although the new short poems were frowned upon by devout parents and the church, they were hopeful nourishment for young readers; for instead of teaching that letters were to be learned to read the Bible they explained that

He who ne'er learns his ABC
Forever will a blockhead be;
But he who learns his letters fair
Shall have a coach to take the air.

Besides the *English Royal Primer* other ABC books filled with everyday realism were imported from England. Typical was the *Tom Thumb Play-Book* containing, in addition to lessons praising the Lord, an alphabet of contrasting irreverence. A small woodcut illustrated each letter and the verse ran to unvarnished realism. Such rhymes as

C was a Captain all cover'd with Lace
D was a Drunkard, and had a red Face.
J was a Joiner, and built up a House
K was a King and governed a Mouse.
T was a Tinker, and mended a Pot
V was a Vintner, a very great Sot.
Y was a Youth, that did not love School
Z was a Zany and look'd like a Fool.

were not dignified props for the support of New England education, in spite of the Play-Book's title-page announcing that its object was "To Teach Children their Letters as soon as they can speak. . . . A new and pleasant Method to allure Little Ones into the first Principles of Learning."

John Newbery, friend of Oliver Goldsmith and the most authentic founder of the traffic in what we now understand as juvenile literature, published his first book for children in 1744. It was a little volume entitled *A Pretty Little Pocket.* Its expanded title went on to say that it was *Intended for the in-*

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struction and amusement of Little Master Tommy and Pretty Miss Polly, with an agreeable letter from Jack the Giant Killer, as also a Ball and Pin-Cushion, the use of which will infallibly make Tommy a good boy, and Polly a good girl. . . . Price of the book alone, 6d., with Ball or Pin-Cushion, 8d.

Who wrote this little book nobody knows exactly. Probably John Newbery himself had something to do with it, as he had with other children's books he printed. He was the first publisher of what may be termed *real* children's books—books written to entertain and amuse young people and at the same time cultivate their taste for a juvenile literature all their own. When Oliver Goldsmith was unable to pay his landlady John Newbery often came to his aid with the money and a bottle of port. In return Goldsmith did hack work for Newbery and is credited with having written some of the tiny books published under the title, Lilliputian Library. His wit also contributed to other juveniles of Newbery fame, among them *Giles Gingerbread, Tom Thumb's Folio, The Fairing, Be Merry and Wise, Pretty Poems for the Amusement of Children Three Feet High* (later satirized for adult reading under the same title except for the height of the children, which was extended to six feet), *A Pretty Book of Pictures*, and most noteworthy of all, *Goody Two-Shoes*.

William Godwin thought Goldsmith wrote the entire story of *Goody Two-Shoes*—an opinion also expressed by Washington Irving who wrote that the text bore the stamp of Goldsmith's "sly and playful humour." No copy of the first edition is known to exist: it was so popular that eager, small hands thumbed it to pieces, and it was not until 1939 that a second edition came to light in a London book auction.

John Newbery also adapted the current literature of his day, transforming 18th-century novels by prominent authors into interesting stories for children. He abridged Samuel Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe, Pamela* and *Sir Charles Grandison*. A miniature adaptation of Fielding's *Joseph Andrews* was printed and, most curious of all, a very much expurgated ver-

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sion of *Tom Jones*. These small volumes, illustrated with copper engravings consonant with those in the unabridged versions and bound in fancy, embossed colored boards, went into many editions.

A great number of Newbery's books were copied in America by Isaiah Thomas of Worcester, Massachusetts. He printed the first Worcester edition of *Goody Two-Shoes* with the quaint woodcuts recut from new drawings by local engravers. In addition to being the American prototype of John Newbery, he found time during the Revolution to edit the *Massachusetts Spy* and to issue and sell all kinds of school books. Newbery, on the other hand, was versatile in a different manner. He used his children's books to promote the sale of patent medicines, among them famous Dr. James's Fever Powder which, besides playing a prominent part in the health of characters introduced into his stories (some of them even dying because they did not have recourse to this remedy) prompted Goldsmith to claim that Newbery himself passed away from an overdose of his own medicine.

John Newbery was an astute business man. His knowledge of what pleased the children of his time was accompanied by an unusual aptitude for book production. His choice of illustration and the gay wrappers made from flowered paper imported from Holland pay tribute to his perspicacity. During his period it became a rule to print juvenile texts in a tiny format and small type. The children were expected to have good eyes, and it was felt that they could better handle a book of small dimensions. Later on children's books gradually increased in size until by the early part of the 19th century they had grown to duodecimo. Towards 1865, the period of *Alice in Wonderland*, octavos came into fashion and present-day books for the young are generally published in quarto. The smaller the child the bigger the book and type. In Newbery's day the reverse was true.

John Newbery's successors continued his tradition into the early days of the following century. Since there were no copyright laws nearly all his texts were pirated and his illustrations

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copied. They were printed in popular or chapbook form and sold throughout the English counties, usually for a penny or twopence, although the more pretentious imitators went so far as to use Dutch flowered-paper wrappers or boards and priced their books accordingly. "Mozley's Lilliputian Book Manufactory," where lively texts for children were directly pirated from Newbery or were issued in the same spirit, was in this respect one of Newbery's persistent rivals.

The publisher, Thomas Boreman, the "Bookseller near the 'Two Giants' in Guildhall," brought out minuscule juveniles contemporaneously with John Newbery's earliest production. In 1740 he printed the first volumes of a series of miniature books, measuring less than 2½ inches high, which he named "Gigantic Histories." The titles resembled those of a guide book and had to do mainly with descriptions of London and its monuments. The texts amused the little ones because the author had closed the door on any moral turn to his story, and the children's pleasure in the prospect of visiting the big city one day was unclouded by reminders of their daily conduct. The interesting thing about this series, besides the crude woodcuts, is the list of child subscribers in which figure the names of children—sons and daughters of prominent parents of the time—in imitation of the subscription lists printed in the finer books for grown people. Boreman's efforts in the domain of juvenile literature were confined to this little series of Gigantic Histories; he did not compete with John Newbery in any other manner.

In the *Vicar of Wakefield* Oliver Goldsmith speaks of John Newbery as "the philanthropic bookseller in Saint Paul's Churchyard, who has written so many little books for children: he called himself their friend, but he was the friend of mankind." Goldsmith could have added that he himself had contributed to the spirit governing the choice little tales for children; he might have gone on to say that John Newbery, with the help of Goldsmith's dry humor and tenderness, rescued reading for children from the deep sea of didactic morality

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in which it was submerged. By the dawn of the 19th century Newbery's influence had begun to decline and his tradition in format and make-up passed, more or less, into the hands of publishers who printed chapbooks and did most of their trade through small shops in the English counties. In the big cities education for young people had made great strides and the English School of moralists, influenced by Jean Jacques Rousseau, were writing more substantial literature for the young—novels written especially for children instead of being adapted from books published for adults.

Thomas Day's *Sandford and Merton*, which had appeared toward the end of the previous century, remained popular in various forms and editions right through to the late Victorian era. Day's book led many other authors to write in the same vein—notably, later on, the brilliant Maria Edgeworth (1767-1849) whose novels for children for decades formed the background of the average child's library. On the other hand Rousseau's didacticism and moral principles, dressed up in the form of a novel, contained some advice the children of his time might have seen fit to erect a monument to could they have foreseen its influence on the juvenile story of the future. In his *Emile ou l'Education* (1762) Rousseau had spoken of Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe* as the one book to be placed in his protégé's hand. Yet it was not until fifty or more years later that Defoe's masterpiece, through adaptations and picture-book versions, developed into its present-day popularity as an adventure story for young boys. The influence exercised by *Robinson Crusoe* on other writers throughout Europe was prodigious. Had it not been for Crusoe's shipwreck on an uninhabited island, David Rudolf Weiss would not have been inspired to write *The Swiss Family Robinson* nor would have Joachim Henri Campe, the eminent pedagog, have thought of instructing his young readers through *The New Robinson Crusoe*. During the Romantic period in France "Robinsons" were printed in close competition and in the greatest imaginative variety. Madame de Beaulieu wrote *Le Robinson de Douze Ans*, a story

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which reduced Defoe's hero to a young boy but at the same time brought him even closer to the hearts of young readers. Ernest Fouinet wrote *Le Robinson des Glaces*, in which for a change the young adventurer is lost in ice-bound regions; Henri Lemaire brought out *Le Petit Robinson*; in persistent rivalry with the child-novel other familiar writers of children's books, of which there were many, carried on the tradition of stories of adventure. No less a person than Mary Jane Godwin published —in a not very successful business venture—the first English version of *The Swiss Family Robinson* and there is little doubt that her son-in-law, Percy Bysshe Shelley, helped finance its publication in 1814.

In the 19th century the position of the person who wrote for young readers was in marked contrast to that prevailing in the 18th. Whereas during the 1700's he had had to be subservient to his publisher, by the 1800's not only had a school of writers devoted to juvenile literature been created, but men distinguished for their graver writings took it upon themselves to provide literary entertainment for the young. Charles and Mary Lamb, in addition to adapting Shakespeare's plays, wrote fairy tales, an exquisite book of poems for children, and rhymes like *Beauty and the Beast*, *The Prince Dorus* and the famous *King and Queen of Hearts*. Like Thackeray, Lamb, although he reasoned through the sublime and Thackeray through the grotesque, was gifted with a highly developed insight into a child's level of appreciation. In spite of a brain filled with figures and abstruse mathematical problems, C. L. Dodgeson, under the pseudonym, Lewis Carroll, found time for and enjoyed writing the adventures of *Alice in Wonderland*, and *Alice through the Looking Glass*; the brothers Grimm, eminent philologists, took to writing some of the finest of folklore and fairy stories; and after attending a civic entertainment William Roscoe, writer on statistics, composed for the amusement of his own children a playful account of the ball and banquet, published under the title *The Butterfly's Ball and Grasshopper's Feast* (1807). Its success was so great it inspired many imita-

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tions, the most notable of them Mrs. Dorset's *Peacock at Home*. Within a year or so there appeared such volumes as *The Elephant's Ball*, *The Lion's Masquerade*, *The Horse's Levee*, *The Rose's Breakfast*, *The Owl's Boarding House* and many others from the pens of various authors who preferred to remain anonymous. Most of these little books were published by J. Harris accompanied by from six to twelve hand-colored engravings. They were copied by diverse publishers in the United States, but with much cruder plates since copper engraving for popular consumption had not attained any degree of excellence in America in either execution or impression.

The Butterfly's Ball not only created a vogue for fantastic verse in which animals and insects played parts as though they were human beings—early forerunners of our Disney films of today—it also initiated the gay, hand-colored plates so successfully developed by rival publishers during the following thirty years, much to the delight of young readers. The famous firm of Harvey and Darton, publishers of children's books, printed a most charming series of small octavo books, in stiff wrappers, illustrated with delightful woodcuts executed with an open, simple technique and hand-colored with taste and exactitude.

Towards the middle of the century the vogue of fairy tales—their popularity dating from the time Charles Perrault introduced them to the French Court—began to wane. "Cinderella," "Little Red Riding Hood," "Puss in Boots," and other stories included in the *Contes de la Mère l'Oye* (*Tales from Mother Goose*) had begun to meet the disapproval of parents who looked upon imaginary and fantastic stories as harmful to children. Fairy tales had begun to give way to the child-novel which still found favor with parents imbued with the spirit of Victorian discipline, practicability and economic expansion. But Charles Dickens, who deplored the abandonment of the good old-fashioned fairy story, wrote in *Household Words* (October 1, 1885):

It would be hard to estimate the amount of gentleness and mercy that has made its way among us through these slight channels [meaning fairy

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tales]. Forbearance, courtesy, consideration for the poor and the aged, kind treatment of animals, the love of Nature, abhorrence of tyranny and brute force—many such good things have been nourished in the child's heart by this powerful aid. It has greatly helped to keep us ever young, by preserving through our worldly ways one slender track, not overgrown with weeds, where we may walk with children, sharing their delights.

The reaction was inevitable. Slowly Perrault's *Tales*, with their adaptations and imitations, returned to the nursery to stay for good.

Great names in authorship and illustration were in the making and developing at a rapid pace as the years went by. Literature of a high order, later to enter the domain of the juvenile classic and fill the shelf of the future collector, was being written. In fact the list of juvenile "high spots" is so long that only a few can here be mentioned. Marryat, Stevenson, Jules Verne, Fenimore Cooper and Mark Twain provided books of adventure. Among the women writers Louisa M. Alcott, the Comtesse de Ségur and Harriet Beecher Stowe published stories that in literary quality were the peers of those brought out for more advanced minds. Lewis Carroll, Hawthorne and Andrew Lang explored fantasy and fairyland; Rudyard Kipling managed to forget the army and India for a while to write *The Jungle Book* and *Just-so-Stories*.

The same high quality pervaded the work of artists—from George Cruikshank's admirable etchings for Grimm's *German Popular Stories*, without doubt his best work in this medium, to the charming work of Kate Greenaway, Ruskin's protégée.

The 19th century also saw the beginning of the child's picture book, a type dating from the time of *Struwwelpeter*. Originally written by Heinrich Hoffmann for his children, under the title of *Slovenly Peter* it became the most popular child's book of the next forty years. Its naive, hand-colored pictures inspired other books decorated with bright-colored illustrations, made by the stencil process manipulated by young children themselves in the employ of publishing houses. The 1870's

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found the picture book at its most prolific. Quarto albums with colored plates made by a chromolithographic or the Kronheim oil process (a degeneration of Baxter's remarkable method), were issued in many different series. In the United States McCloughlin Brothers of New York followed the style and method of the London publishers. Charles Dickens' story of "The Fat Boy," illustrated by the cartoonist Thomas Nast, was among the most amusing of the series. In general, fairy tales, fables and stories dealing with the farmyard, trades and the Bible were the most popular. The illustrations could lay claim to a quaint, plebeian vigor in color and execution that was lost as the years went by and as color printing advanced to the state of technical refinement marking the picture books illustrated by Kate Greenaway, Randolph Caldecott and other brilliant artists of the eighties.

It is appropriate here to quote a few lines from the bibliographical history of these early juveniles so treasured today by libraries and collectors. In their chapter, "Nursery Treasures" Messrs Sawyer and Darton (*English Books*, 1475-1900) say:

> Some notorious prizes apart, all such books published before 1800 or so are rare, and often unique; their devastating little owners have secured that eminence for them.

It is possible to extend this date far beyond the year 1800. Experience has led collectors to believe that many nursery books of even our parents' days are so far from common that it would be very difficult to assemble a sequence of any importance representative of this somewhat late period.

The appeal to the collector can be summarized in the words of Charles Welsh in an article, written some fifty years ago, entitled "Some Notes on the History of Books for Children, 1800-1850."

> Indeed, the quaint dresses and the quainter attitudes in the illustrations, the prim, formal, and didactic style of the writing, the oddity of the binding, are all interesting and curious; and in turning over their pages we seem to breathe the spirit of that quieter age when no railway trains were rushing about the country, no telegraphic wires were flash-

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ing messages to and fro, and when there was really time to live, and more, and enjoy existence.

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Poem

ROBERT LAX

So like a bird from a swamp
The spirit flies
To what uplightness
Bright bird knows not
What before
Nor what behind him—

So like bird from swamp
The spirit flies
That what before him
What behind him—

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Poem

So he flies
That what above
That what below
Before behind
Be upward downward
Fore behind him—

So he flies
That what before him
What behind him lies,
The bright bird knows not.

A swampbird upward
So the spirit flies
That what behind it knows
Nor what before it
What uplightness lies
So like a spirit
Bright bird upward
So like an upward bright bird flies
Love-lifted lightly spirit knows not
What before it
What behind it lies.

So bird, so spirit
So uplightly flies
That what before
That what behind
The bright bird knows not, lies.

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Growth of an American Youth Movement 1905-1941

ROBERT G. SPIVACK

THE American youth movement has always been pro-democratic, anti-capitalist, decidedly not pro-Soviet but greatly impressed by Russia's effort to liberate herself. This will surprise Messrs. William Randolph Hearst and Earl Russell Browder, who have done their utmost to prove the contrary. But it will not surprise Mrs. Eleanor Roosevelt, who probably knows more about the problems of young Americans and how they have tried to solve them than any person alive. In every other country where there are such movements the youth rally around some important figure, either a great general or a revolutionary leader. In the United States they rally around the wife of the President.

Commencement Day orators may not understand the contradictions which seem to color the thinking of a large section of the present generation, but many of them will sense the ill wisdom of uttering a graduation ceremony's customary pious platitudes this June. For anyone who speaks to American young people this year, whether they are in universities or in labor unions, will be addressing a hard-boiled, tough, skeptical group who were born at the end of one world war, matured during the most dismal depression this nation has ever known and now are face-to-face with a second world war the portent of which many cannot understand, but the significance of which in their own lives becomes increasingly and tragically more apparent day by day.

I do not know of one young person in my generation who relishes the thought of going to war. But I do not believe that it

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is cowardice or cynicism or an unwillingness to give their lives if necessary for the cause of their country. The American Youth Congress to the contrary youthful Americans approve of conscription (86% favor it according to the Gallup poll).[1] They believe that we should aid the nations resisting fascism (62% favor aid to England even at the risk of war).[2] They are not hide-bound conservatives (nearly 60% of the first voters supported the re-election of President Roosevelt).[3] But these facts still do not mean that they are enthusiastic about the course of events. It only means that they feel we have certain advantages here of which a Nazi victory would deprive us. It does not mean that the vast majority of young people (there are 30,000,000 under thirty-five, most of whom do not belong to any political youth groups) has yet achieved the basic elements of a fighting faith. There were several hundred who volunteered to fight Spanish fascism; it is not curious that they keep asking Lord Halifax where he stood then. There are still, according to the American Youth Commission, some 4,000,000 unemployed of whom N. Y. A. and C. C. C. are helping less than 25%. Most of those four million would be unable to do anything except unskilled labor if they could find work tomorrow.

There are those who insist that unemployment is not the cause of what sometimes appears to be the sullenness of this generation. Some ascribe it to lack of religious faith. Others insist that there has been too much pampering, that the youth are "soft." This is as unkind as it is untrue. To have endured what most of our impoverished youth have suffered during their formative years—there are no more frontiers to conquer—is not a sign of softness. Softness comes from too much good living.

The story of the American youth movement is the story of how young people have tried in their own way to solve the social problems which beset them and it is in the best tradition of our pioneers. During a period when many young people were desperate the organization of a movement gave hope to thousands.

[1] Published March 7, 1941.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Revealed in several polls beginning August 4, 1940 through the election.

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There were undoubtedly periods of too unbridled an enthusiasm and aggressiveness which sometimes annoyed the public, although the press itself was guilty of its usual excesses in treating liberal causes. There have been some political errors, particularly the flirtations with the Communists for two or three years. But on the whole the history of the movement is glorious and in their efforts to hoist themselves by their own bootstraps the youth leaders have been partly successful. During recent years they have won the ear of the government.

What our newspapers have reluctantly come to recognize as a serious movement of national magnitude had its beginnings in 1905 when, after the abortive Russian revolution, a small band of student intellectuals led by Jack London formed the Intercollegiate Socialist Society to challenge what London once described as "the passionless pursuit of passionless intelligence." In the group were William English Walling, J. G. Phelps Stokes, Harry Laidler, Elizabeth Gilman, Thomas W. Higginson, Clarence Darrow and several others. Their following was select but small. By 1915 the movement was disbanded because the divisions within the socialist ranks over America's role in the war prevented further united effort.

Following the war two divergent movements developed on the American campus. One was a revolt in morals characterized by Percy Marks as "The Plastic Age." The other was an intellectual, non-Marxian uprising which found expression in the pages of a magazine known as *The New Student*. In the era of jazz and gin its influence was inevitably limited, but in its pages and occasionally in those of other publications the postwar restlessness of serious and sensitive young men was manifest. The slight stir together with the ideas disseminated by Felix Frankfurter and his colleagues were sufficient to thoroughly frighten and arouse the usual number of red-hunters. One businessman, Howard Elliott, formerly president of the Northern Pacific Railways, in an address to Harvard alumni pointed out the "dangerous" trends:

. . . In schools, colleges, even at our beloved Harvard, there is some

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of this atmosphere (of unrest and discontent) and it is disturbing some of the best friends of education and progress in the country . . .[4]

As if to accentuate these fears a young man named John F. Carter was writing in *The Atlantic Monthly*:

The older generation has pretty well ruined the world before passing it on to us. They gave us this thing, knocked to pieces, leaky red-hot, threatening to blow up; and then they are surprised that we don't accept it with the same attitude of pretty decorous enthusiasm with which they received it way back in the eighties.

The New Student was first published in 1922, following the merger of two student groups, the Intercollegiate Liberal League and the National Student Committee for the Limitation of Armaments. Both were trying to hasten a "New Day" which they were certain would be the really lasting result of the war. Their faith was a curious mixture of Wilsonian idealism and a vague understanding that the overthrow of Czarism promised great things. The Russian upheaval meant fundamental changes, but what those changes were or how youth was to be oriented to them, they themselves were uncertain. In the first issue the editors wrote:

Students hold within their careless, unmanicured fingers the preservation of our civilization. Our elders know it. They tremble at the casual way we grasp our inheritance.

Like many intellectuals they may have over-estimated their own importance to society. Their belief that a cleavage existed between themselves and the older generation may not have been profound, but by 1923 they were convinced of its reality. "With all respect to the older generation," an article stated, "some of us become more and more certain that they cannot feel the chaos as we do."

Asked to provide a blueprint for the kind of new world they were going to build the editors had to confess: "All that we know is that as students we had certain dissatisfactions; that

[4] This whole period is described by James A. Wechsler in *Revolt on the Campus*, Covici-Friede, 1935. The quotations following are from his book.

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others seem to have similar ones. . . . We can't tell exactly what is coming. . . ." What did come was "normalcy," the football coach paid more than the professor and H. L. Mencken. The assault was heavy and hard. More and more young people fell by the way, although the editors of *The New Student* sturdily resisted until publication of the magazine was no longer financially possible. By the middle of the twenties Lewis Browne commented that "the heavy wine of idealism had turned to vinegar, radicalism gave way to cynicism; H. L. Mencken supplanted H. G. Wells, Sinclair Lewis took the place of Upton Sinclair, and the undergraduate intellectual ceased to frown and began to sneer." The skeptics had undermined the movement.

The days of "permanent prosperity" were not encouraging to those who advocated independent, political youth activity either off or on the campus. The League for Industrial Democracy led by Norman Thomas and Harry W. Laidler had few college contacts. It was not until 1931 that a student section of the L.I.D. was formed and within one year many members found it too inactive. This was the period when the state of Kentucky was the scene of the memorable and bloody Harlan county coal strikes. The hostility of the press to the miners' cause aroused the suspicions of many college undergraduates and after a great deal of public discussion some of them decided to send an investigating mission.

Eighty social science students from eastern and mid-western colleges, most of them politically unaffiliated, made the pilgrimage which was to prove a turning point in the youth movement. Met at the Harlan line by a band of company-employed deputy sheriffs, they were restrained from entering the county. There was enough rough-handling so that the students, although they never saw the miners, saw enough to arouse their indignation and that was the first step towards doing something about it. What they did was to revitalize the Student L.I.D. by establishing chapters at schools throughout the country. The militancy of the enlarged L.I.D. in its opposition to such things

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as the students had seen at Harlan was not however strong enough to satisfy the Communists, and the latter proceeded to form their own New York Students' League (later to be known as the National Student League). The ideological warfare which immediately broke out between the two was more intense than the class war against the Morgan mining interests.

The two groups vied for control of left-wing elements on the campuses. Joseph P. Lash, at that time secretary of the Student L.I.D., hit upon two brilliant and dramatic ideas which gave his group the upper-hand for a short period. Recalling the disillusionment which grew out of the last war and recognizing the symptoms of the coming conflict, he introduced the Oxford pledge into the S.L.I.D. platform. This had been adopted a few months earlier at the Oxford Union, Oxford University's famous debating society, where the students voted 275 to 153 never to "fight for King or country." He also proposed that in commemoration of America's entrance into the World War, students should walk out of their classrooms on April 6 as a protest against war preparations. The student anti-war strike was to be a "dress rehearsal" of what undergraduates would do if "American imperialists should force us into war again." The strike won the support of the National Student League and for the first time the two groups cooperated.

Both the strike and the Oxford pledge won the support of religious pacifists, but to Lash and his colleagues they had even greater political significance. "Fight against war effectively," he maintained, "and you will find yourself fighting for socialism." In 1934 some 25,000 students took part in the walk-outs and one year later some 175,000 participated.

But the Oxford pledge was scarcely the basis of a positive foreign policy and the Communists were quick to see this. They were shifting into their Popular Front period and they urged "collective security" against fascism as the best way to preserve peace. Despite their differences on foreign policy the National Student League advocated that the two student groups merge, ostensibly because so much of their program was alike. Recall-

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ing Communist tactics it was also apparent that the League was certain it could win over the others to the correctness of its position on the war issue. After much hesitation on the part of the Student L.I.D. leaders the two organizations met in December 1935 at Columbus, Ohio to form the American Student Union. This was the beginning of the era of good-feeling in the left-wing groups—a "united front" against fascism also took hold amongst adult groups. Over a period of the next few years the vigorous collective security advocates, aided in their arguments by the examples of fascist aggression first in Ethiopia, then in Spain and later in Czecho-Slovakia, were able to prove their case to the Student Union membership. Lash, although skeptical of the Communists, went to Spain as a volunteer and returned convinced that Gandhi methods would not beat fascism.

The idea of an American youth movement was not exclusive to left-wingers, however. In 1934 a vivacious young lady named Viola Ilma persuaded a number of wealthy people to send her to Germany where she studied the Nazi youth movement. She came back to the United States much enthused about its avowed aims, if not entirely clear about its methods, and convinced that the youth in this country needed something similar. President Roosevelt, she felt, would make an excellent "leader." To build such a broad movement she summoned to a congress at New York University practically every youth-led or youth-serving body in the country from the Boy Scouts to the Young Communist League. But her unfamiliarity with parliamentary procedure and her under-estimation of the delegates' political experience gave the left-wingers an advantage over her and they proceeded to assume control over the meeting. Miss Ilma formed a rump congress, while those who remained in the originally called meeting decided that their principal need was an anti-fascist clearing house which would bring together organizations of all kinds—labor unions, settlement house clubs, peace societies and student organizations—in fact any groups which young people were likely to join. This was the beginning of the American Youth Congress.

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Both the Youth Congress and the American Student Union were designed to be broad, popular movements which would protect youth's interests, oppose war and expose fascism. The Congress was to be a federation of existing groups; the Student Union a membership body. Young Communists regarded these organizations as the nucleus of the youth section of the American Popular Front; to non-Communists they were unions of young people joining together on a minimum program of progressive social action. There was friction during the first two years of the A.S.U. between those who wanted the Oxford pledge abandoned and those who wanted it strengthened. The former won. But the A.Y.C. was relatively free from division on foreign policy. Through wise and temperate policies, through a spirit of self-sacrifice which was almost religious in its intensity, and through willingness to employ democratic techniques both organizations grew rapidly. Although in terms of the entire youth population neither was large, the Student Union did acquire some 15,000 to 20,000 followers and the Youth Congress had the cooperation of 62 organizations—all the important bodies except the Scouts and the Catholic Youth Organization.

Their program was couched in popular terms, unlike that of the sectarian left-wing groups of earlier days, and had as its focal point the American Youth Act, a legislative measure designed to extend and implement the National Youth Administration. (In 1939 the A.Y.C. omitted the Youth Act from its program because it believed that the Roosevelt Administration was doing a good job and the A.Y.C. did not wish to appear critical.) Pilgrimages to Washington, colorful national and regional conferences, and a World Youth Congress at Vassar in 1938 all helped to win the ear of Washington officials and Mrs. Roosevelt saw these activities as manifestations of an important movement and one to be encouraged. In 1939 Gene Tunney, Victor Ridder and others saw in them a "menace."

The movement was well on its way until the signing of the Nazi-Soviet pact and the outbreak of the war. It became para-

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lyzed when Communists began assaulting non-Communists as "war-mongers" and even "hypocrites" for not "understanding" that "the situation has changed." Young friends parted company in shock, bewilderment and gloom. The vast majority, never violently pro-Soviet, departed for they knew not where. The Student Union membership dropped to less than 2,000 and the Youth Congress lost the support of two-thirds of its affiliates. To many the Communists seemed sickeningly cynical and while from the point of view of political strategy they might better have stayed in the movement and fought for control, few had the heart or the organizing zeal to do so.

For some twelve months a condition of shell shock prevailed among young liberals but suddenly it began to disappear during the presidential campaign when the possibility of a Willkie victory loomed large. The establishment of the C.C.C. and N.Y.A. as well as most of the other social reforms had won the sympathy of young people and they were determined that these should not be scrapped. Only one national group, the youth division of the National Committee of Independent Voters headed by Joseph P. Lash, supported the President. But similar organizations without national leadership began to spring up in Kansas, Illinois, Massachusetts and belatedly in New York.

There are now some half dozen still independent of one another but devoted to the cause of progressive democracy at home and supporting in various degrees the Administration's foreign policy. They are Democracy's Volunteers in Kansas, Youth for Democracy in Chicago, the Student Defense Leagues at a number of eastern colleges, the Student League for Progressive Action at Swarthmore and Harvard, and the Student Defenders of Democracy which gives promise of becoming a national over-all body. In order to counteract the impression that all who advocate non-intervention are Communists, a pacifist group known as the Progressive Students League has been formed under Socialist leadership.

An innovation among youth groups has been the decision by the executive board of the International Student Service to

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broaden the activities of that organization. The International Student Service, 20 years old and with affiliates in 23 countries before the war, has been in the recent past primarily concerned with aid to student refugees. Now, although it has taken no stand on political questions beyond affirming its faith in the democratic process, it sponsors conferences on controversial subjects, is planning a combined literary and political journal, operates voluntary summer work-camps for students and young workers, and will conduct a summer school for "leadership training" in the theory and practice of democracy. One of its officers refers to it as a "catalytic agent" in the youth movement. It may have great significance in shaping the future of the democratic youth movement since active political training in the past has usually been limited to the Young Communists.

To many all this activity is encouraging because it proves that the log-jam which existed following the Communist defection has finally been broken by young people themselves. Perhaps the major deficiency in the American youth movement has been and still is to a large extent the fact that students have always been at its core while young trade unionists, Y.M.C.A. members and other non-student groups have been further away from the center. Some of this was caused by developments within the Youth Congress which made many wary of political activity.

If any other generalization can be made about the movement it is that it reflects the times in which it exists. Today millions of young men are being conscripted into the army, but they are not being told why and the issues in the war are unclear to very many. They are angry when they see some men becoming rich out of this war. They are wondering if when they are out of the Army, there will be jobs for them or if some future president will give orders to shoot down another bonus army. They feel that the old order is dead, and they want encouragement and help in building a new one to replace it. I suspect that if at the end of this war another John Carter writes "The older generation has pretty well ruined the world before passing it on to us," there will never be a "return to normalcy."

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In the Workshop

Some Comments on the Present Status of American Psychiatry

MILTON E. KIRKPATRICK

AMERICAN psychiatry no longer conducts its professional affairs in the last house on a dead end street. A generation ago psychiatry dealt almost exclusively with the mentally disordered confined in institutions for their own protection or the protection of society. As medical research continues to make advances in the understanding and treatment of all disease processes attention has been shifted to disorders of the mind as a very fertile field for the scientist who is not particularly dismayed by the lack of immediate and promising results. Psychiatry is probably the most difficult medical specialty. This statement of course is debatable but other disorders to which the human race is heir are demonstrable, operations can be performed, fractures can be reduced, physical illness can be treated by therapies which are more or less specific. Psychiatry at points is extremely intangible and patients seem to resist, unwittingly or not, the physician's efforts to be of help. The subject matter with which the psychiatrist deals represents in panorama man's attempts to adjustment which are as old as the race. That these attempts are often futile is indicated by the fact that over 56 per cent of all hospital beds in the United States are occupied by mental patients. Mental disorder is the greatest unsolved problem confronting the medical profession today; it is the number one menace to the public health of the nation.

American psychiatry was conceived inside the walls of a mental hospital about a hundred years ago and for seventy-five years was content with the preoccupation of administrative problems of the physician and a descriptive classification of long standing mental disease processes in the patient. It is easy to understand how the words "insane" and "asylum" came to be used. Few patients who entered ever recovered and at least one hospital now well known for the high quality of its psychiatric service once derived no little revenue from exhibiting its disturbed inmates before the curious public.

It would be profitable for both the institution and the citizen if he would set about to familiarize himself with the mental hospital in his locality. Some are little better than they were years ago; others are a credit to their state and the medical profession. The state hospital has long suffered because of a wall of isolation which has been built up around it. The concept that the "state hospital has a

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responsibility for the mental health of the community it serves" has not met with universal acceptance. Envision if you will a state mental hospital where the physical care of patients probably is better than that of any section of our general public. All necessary dental work on 3000 patients is done at state expense. When a patient becomes acutely ill there is no problem of his having sufficient funds to pay for expert consultations and expensive diagnostic tests. Everything that modern medicine has to offer in a general hospital is immediately available to him. Consider if you will a mental hospital where an active research program financed by two of the outstanding foundations in this country has been in progress for twelve years. Theological students from nearby seminaries are given teaching and seminars every summer in order that they may better understand problems in the emotional life of their parishioners when they enter the ministry. Social work students who are candidates for the Master's degree receive their field work here under expert supervision. The hospital has conducted a full-time child guidance clinic located in a residential section of the city for the past fifteen years. The hospital chaplain and one of the psychiatrists are available several nights a week for counselling at the local Y.M.C.A. A psychiatrist from the staff serves half-time as a consultant to the local public welfare agency. These and other interesting activities are now a part of the regular program of one of our mental hospitals. The wall of isolation can and is being broken down. The significance and possibilities of social psychiatry become very apparent.

Beginning with some of our more recent advances in the treatment of the mentally ill it might be profitable to discuss the various methods of shock therapy, their benefit to the patient and the rationale underlying their administration. In 1934 Sakel published a paper indicating that mental patients who were being treated for diabetes by the use of insulin showed marked improvement in their mental health after they had emerged from their diabetic coma. This led to an insulin induced diabetic coma or shock in non-diabetic patients who were revived at a definite stage by the intravenous or oral administration of carbohydrates.

In 1934 Von Meduna made the observation that patients with epilepsy did not develop dementia praecox and concluded that the two diseases were incompatible. In the search for a drug which would produce a severe convulsion in a non-epileptic patient, metrazol, a camphor compound, was discovered and it has been used upon thousands of patients in our mental hospitals and general hospitals with varying degrees of success. The convulsion produced by metrazol is severe and numerous fractures and dislocations were common until curare, a drug used to paralyze nerve endings in muscle (also by the South American Indians as a poison with which to tip the end of their arrows) was administered a few minutes before the metrazol with a marked reduction in injuries.

Out of experiences with shock therapy grew a need for a method which would produce shock with less danger to the patient. At the present time electric current is being used to produce coma and a convulsion. Fatalities are unknown and this method may eventually supplant all others

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providing that shock therapy survives the critical inquiry to which it is now being subjected. Many psychiatrists suspect it will not.

What are the results of this severe and perhaps barbarous method of treating the mentally ill? Some critics have stated that we have gone back to the days of the ducking stool in New England. In all fairness let it be said that various forms of shock therapy have been influencing factors in getting some of our deteriorated patients out of the back wards of our mental hospitals and into a more normal and better socialized existence. In other cases the period of hospitalization has been shortened. But present statistics show that the recovery (remission) rate is little, if any, better than that of years before shock therapy came into such general use. The reader may therefore well ask the rationale for this treatment. Increased oxygenation of brain cells is sometimes associated with recovery, but perhaps what is so optimistically viewed as recovery or improvement is merely a lower level of functioning. We do not know what shock therapy does to human brain tissue. A research worker discovered that insulin therapy results in an increased permeability of brain cells thereby lending support to the theory that an increase in oxygen supply to nerve tissue is a factor in improvement. Insulin shock administered experimentally to cats results in atrophy of cortical cells; and a recent study of the effects of insulin and metrazol on monkeys shows unmistakable evidence of cortical damage. This is not to be construed as a condemnation of shock therapy. It has its place and should be useful within certain limits. We all know that our mental hospitals are full of patients who have been there many years. Social recovery has been despaired of long ago. If shock therapy will get these patients out of doors performing simple but useful tasks and in a more comfortable state of mind, then the atrophy of a few brain cells does not seem too great a price to pay.

An equally important aspect associated with shock therapy is the effect on the psychiatrist. Why should psychiatrists seize with such acclaim on a method of treatment by drugs and ignore the serious problems in the field of interpersonal relationships? It merely indicates the two schools of thought—one believing that mental disorder is organically determined and the other group equally, if not more, articulate in its contention that psychogenic disturbances are the precipitating factors. In all fairness let it be said they both are correct in certain instances. Some mental disorders—epilepsy, feebleminded-ness, general paresis, senile dementia—are organically determined. About other types one can be much less certain. The most modern concept is that mental disorder is the result of many factors and for those who are interested attention is directed to the theory of "multiple causation."

The most articulate group in psychiatry at the present time are the psychoanalysts. They work not so much with the hospitalized mentally ill patient as with the neurotic person who is still able to function with some degree of efficiency. Whatever can be said about psychoanalysis as a medical discipline it has contributed more than anything else to our understanding of human behavior. One regrets that it has frequently been regarded as a cult and has

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been forced to defend its tenets against a hostile and prejudiced public; and one may quite logically question what would have happened had its doctrines been subjected to a more objective evaluation.

The lay person quite generally conceives psychonalysis to be some weird method of "wishing away" an "inferiority complex" at a dance intermission or between dessert and coffee; spending five hours a week for a year lying quietly on a couch talking about one's behavior and innermost thoughts in the presence of a psychiatrist is quite incomprehensible to many. Dr. William A. White once said: "The mind that surveys the world knows more of the world than of itself." To many people that admirable quality "insight" is applicable to the other fellow and never to one's self. There are many expositions on the subject for both lay and professional readers and extensive comment is both beside the point and beyond the scope of this article. There are few psychiatrists today working intensively with patients who are not using psychoanalytic orientation, if not its method. The younger generation of psychiatrists is both more receptive to a psychotherapeutic approach and less interested in devoting their efforts to the solution of long-standing terminal disease processes. Social psychiatry is an intriguing and promising field of endeavor. Life in the traditional custodial type of mental hospital where there is overcrowding, inadequate professional staff and an unwise use of restraint may be a devastating experience for the young psychiatrist.

The social psychiatrist has played an important role in the development of child guidance clinics in the past twenty years. Organized originally as a program for the prevention of juvenile delinquency, attention was soon focussed on the emotional problems of all children. The child is studied from the point of view of intellectual endowment, environment, physical make-up and emotional attitudes. Collaborating in this fourfold plan of study are the psychologist, the psychiatric social worker, the pediatrician and the psychiatrist. Problems of an emotional nature may have their beginning very early in the life of the child. The clinic is concerned with the formation of pernicious habits in very young children as well as more severe personality problems encountered prior to and during adolescence. Attitudes toward school failure, members of the family, self and society in general have much to do with determining the final level of social functioning of the total personality. Child psychiatry is an entirely different specialty from that followed in a mental hospital. In order to properly prepare physicians for this important community service fellowships in training centers have been provided by the National Committee for Mental Hygiene and financed by the Commonwealth Fund. There are over 700 clinics in the United States providing psychiatric and psychological service for adults and children. That the program has developed to this extent in a comparatively short period of time is not a matter of chance.

Psychiatrists are serving in the Student Health Service in a number of our colleges and universities. Perhaps the outstanding example of what mental hygiene can do in an institution of higher learning is at the University of Michigan where psychiatric service has been available for students since

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1930. In a seven-year period 4779 students (or 7.67 per cent of the student body each year) consulted the psychiatrist. A questionnaire sent to 865 American collegiate institutions produced 479 replies and 93 per cent indicated that attention along mental hygiene lines was an important need of the students. A round table meeting at the American Psychiatric Association in 1940 attended by psychiatrists working in universities and colleges produced a divergence of opinion regarding the function of their services. Some contended their responsibility was to the individual patient; others held to the opinion that their major responsibility was to the administration and the student body at large. Certainly the gain would be greater if the major portion of the psychiatrist's effort were devoted to making the faculty aware of the existence of mental hygiene problems and threats and what might be done about them. For example, a psychiatrist in a Student Health Service recently said: "We had two suicides in our student body last year. Both students had been emotionally upset a long time and their condition should have been noted by their teachers and faculty advisers. Neither one of them came to my attention."

Probably no group of our hospital population is so worthy of study today as the so-called feebleminded or mentally deficient, particularly those of borderline intelligence. We have made a mistake in establishing mental deficiency on a basis of intelligence as revealed by current tests. A patient with an I.Q. of 60 who is unable to care for himself is mentally deficient and feebleminded. If this same person can be taught a useful trade, be self-supporting and a credit to his community, then how can we say he is feebleminded? These are social distinctions which vary with different sections of the country and with different cultures. There are variables in human functioning and our civilization needs the person of limited intelligence. He is content and happy to perform monotonous tasks which the rest of us shun and yet are so essential to the conduct of our daily affairs; jobs having variety which are of interest to the rest of us may be very disconcerting to him.

The clergy probably has more of an opportunity than any other professional group to see maladjustments in their beginnings. There is ample evidence that they are accepting the challenge and some fear that in their enthusiasm they may encroach upon the domain of the psychiatrist. Psychiatry is a medical specialty. Since it sees problems in magnification it has a responsibility to indicate where others may be useful and an equally important responsibility to integrate its philosophy with that of religion as well as education, sociology, industry and labor.

We are hearing so much about national defense that one becomes faintly annoyed by the term. Must our democracy always be on the defensive? We waged a strictly defensive battle against the forces of depression for ten years. If a man lost a job we gave him money or created artificially another job for him. Attempts to analyze the factors producing the condition by the best of our sociologists resulted in ridicule and the stamp of "Brain Trusters." Involvement in war now seems imminent but is probably of minor importance compared with the responsibilities for peace

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and reconstruction. Will we also adopt a defensive attitude toward these important considerations?

It is some kind of an indictment of the Selective Service Act, American psychiatry, or both, that intelligent consideration has not been given to the selection of men for our armed forces. Wherever psychiatric service is available it is exceedingly brief and at best allows about fifteen minutes per patient. Our mental hospitals are already receiving men from the service, some of whom have developed frank mental disorder after as little as three days in an army camp. Induction boards are also unwittingly taking men who are on parole from mental hospitals. The question naturally arises as to how much the army has learned about psychiatry from its experiences in the first World War. A reliable authority recently stated that every soldier who became psychotic in the service would ultimately cost this government $30,000 if our experience in the last twenty years is any criterion. The National Committee for Mental Hygiene recently proposed a plan which is working quite successfully in an experimental area where psychiatric service is not available; because it can be followed easily by the county health nurse and the family physician it seems to hold some promise. What personality types should not be inducted into the service? Our experiences with men in the first World War would indicate that alcoholics, those with convulsive disorders (epileptics), vagabonds, deserters, religious fanatics, the feebleminded, the former mentally ill, the delinquent and those with a criminal record should not be inducted. These people often make good soldiers but the cost of caring for them after the war because of service disabilities is tremendous. They could better be spared the stresses encountered in modern warfare. True they remain problems if left in their local communities, but they become worse problems when such a high percentage break down in the service.

The mental hygiene movement has been and is the greatest single influencing factor for the development of social psychiatry. Emphasis has been placed on wholesome living but the patient confined in a mental hospital has not been ignored. If we are to rear a generation of youth able to meet life on its own terms without being defeated in the process, then education in its broadest interpretation and training for the responsibilities of life can no longer be conducted by hit and miss methods. Mental hygiene is for everyone and more than a modicum of control will be achieved over personal maladjustments only when a mass consciousness is developed. Man is a cumulative animal; he begins his life where the previous generation left off and in so doing has an opportunity to profit by successes and to suffer from failures. Every human problem once had a beginning when it was a minor difficulty in a normal person. That it grew to overwhelming proportions is lamentable. Such occurrences are unnecessary and offer a challenge to the social psychiatrist who is much more interested in "beginnings" than in "endings." There is a popular notion that a person may be perfectly normal up to a certain point and then suddenly and without provocation develop a mental illness. Nothing could be further from the truth. This erroneous assumption is the result of studying the patient after the development of his illness and not in

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relationship to his total situation. The population of our mental hospitals fifteen years hence is in our school rooms and our homes today. The challenge to do something about it should be recognized by parents, teachers, physicians and other professional people in all walks of life.

Many readers will gather that the psychiatrist lays claim to a rather broad area in the field of human relationships. Perhaps this is where he will find his greatest usefulness. As a physician engaged in the treatment of the mentally ill he is extremely limited, as a specialist in human behavior his opportunities touch every phase of modern life. The child's school failure may be the first of a long series of events leading to the formation of an inadequate personality. Perhaps a divorce in the family is of much more significance than a case of measles or diphtheria. Distorted father-son relationships complicate business enterprise with a surprising degree of regularity. There is a suspicion in the minds of many that agitators and radicals have never resolved their early attitudes toward the authority of their fathers and are now carrying their battle over into society. The history of present day dictators would bear some investigation from this point of view.

Are delinquency and crime part of a necessary price we pay, a natural and to be expected by-product of our mode of life? Should we expect the clergyman to use a mental hygiene approach and attempt to understand the genesis of conflict in his people? Can teachers in our public schools be selected with a view to their wholesomeness of personality and the effect they may have on growing children? Will we ever be able to teach parents very much about parenthood or must they proceed by a trial and error method? These and other problems almost too numerous to mention confront the psychiatrist on every side. It has been said of the delinquent boy: "Everything he has touched has become a part of him." This is probably true of all of us. No human being, child or adult, can be understood until all the factors—environmental, social, hereditary and physical—which have made him what he is today are understood.

Psychiatry is suffering from the same "growing pains" which have beset every medical specialty during the early years of its development. The American Medical Association with the cooperation of two affiliate societies, the American Psychiatric Association and the American Neurological Association, sponsored the establishment in 1934 of the American Board of Psychiatry and Neurology. Rigid standards have been set up and periodic examinations are given to qualified applicants in order to determine those who should be certified as specialists in psychiatry. The U. S. Public Health Service is assuming an increasing amount of responsibility for the mental health of our population both in the improvement of standards of care in mental hospitals and in the establishment of community clinics. Courses in psychiatric case work are given in the leading schools of social work in order that candidates for advanced degrees may be qualified to work in psychiatric clinics, hospitals and similar agencies. The American Orthopsychiatric Association provides an opportunity once each year for psychiatrists, social workers and psychologists to meet and discuss problems of

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mutual interest. Many at present hope for the development of a better understanding between pediatrics and child psychiatry. There is a rapidly increasing demand for psychiatric consultation in our colleges and universities as well as our secondary schools. We can never expect psychiatry to make a real contribution to the mental health of the nation as long as barriers exist which keep the psychiatrist away from the everyday problems of normal people. Mental hygiene is everybody's business.

Progress in the Chemistry of Food and Nutrition

HENRY C. SHERMAN

Until recently, workers in the chemistry of food and nutrition were confronted with an embarrassing dilemma. They could analyze foods with quantitative results approaching as closely to one hundred per cent as in the analysis of other natural products; yet they could not support successful nutrition with pure mixtures of the substances that their analyses revealed.

Seeking deeper insights, they broadened the scope of their methods of research to include the regular and systematic use of feeding experiments with laboratory animals, under as rigorous standards of precision and control as in other experimentation in the exact sciences. And soon they began to be rewarded with discoveries of substances essential to nutrition but in such small quantities that their presence or absence had been without measurable effect upon the previously existing methods of food analysis. Several such discoveries were made in too rapid a succession for the actual physical isolation of the substances and their chemical identification to keep pace. But in several cases much was learned about their nutritional functions so that certain of these substances acquired a very significant scientific literature before their chemical natures had been worked out. Thus they came to be called by the arbitrarily coined name, vitamins. We now know that they are not so logically related to each other, either in chemical nature or in nutritional function, as to belong under any group name. Hence several of the so-called vitamins are now being referred to in more distinctive and more accurate terms.

For example, what was first called vitamin B, then vitamin B_1, is now called thiamin. This is the antineuritic vitamin preventive of some, at least, of our all-too-frequent neurasthenias, and of the Oriental nerve disease, *beri-beri*. Thiamin is important to the chemistry of plant as well as animal life, and is relatively abundant in such seeds as our common cereal grains and legumes. It is located chiefly, however, in the embryos and outer layers of the grains, and the milling of these to yield a "fine" white product—whether patent flour, present-day corn meal or

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white rice—has resulted in the loss of the greater part of the thiamin and some of the other nutrients as well.

Moreover people today still further reduce the vitamin values of their dietaries by taking a larger part of their food in the form of sugar than in any previous generation. Dr. J. C. Drúmmond of the University of London has computed that we of this generation, because of nourishing ourselves so largely upon these over-refined foods, have been getting much less thiamin than did the half-fed English pauper of a century ago whose dole of food was scanty but consisted chiefly of wholewheat bread.

Today there is a general awakening to the importance of restoring the nutritional values of our recently over-sophisticated food supply. The fine flavor of good wholewheat bread, especially when toasted, is being rediscovered; and also there is active development of plans for offering to the consuming public alternative white breads nutritionally corrected in certain respects without noticeable change of color or texture. Some of these plans aim to retain or return some of the natural nutrient material hitherto lost in the making of white flour or bread, while others aim to compensate for one or more of the milling losses by the addition of synthetic thiamin (and perhaps other pure chemicals), or by the use of vitamin-rich yeasts in breadmaking, or both. Plans of the former type include milling processes so modified as to produce a flour almost as white as at present, yet retaining most of the values which the ordinary present-day white flour has lost, or processes by which the germ is reincorporated with the white flour in breadmaking. Plans which, on the other hand, make use of synthetic additions, differ as to what besides thiamin shall be provided. Here again there are two general lines of policy which some would keep separate and others would combine: (1) simple *restoration* of something which the original wheat contained, or (2) *fortification* with whatever our prevailing dietaries need and which bread is well-suited to carry.

Both in Great Britain and in the United States the projects which are furthest advanced toward realization combine something of both policies, but the specific enrichments most likely to be affected are not identical in the two countries. Parliament has provided for thiamin and calcium; Washington proposes thiamin, nicotinic acid, iron, and perhaps riboflavin.

Nicotinic acid had been known for many years as a laboratory product[1] but only at about the end of 1937 was it found to be helpful in the prevention and cure of pellagra. Some would say that "helpful" is too weak a word, for the curative effect is often dramatic, and undoubtedly the wide-spread enrichment of bread with nicotinic acid will very importantly reduce the prevalence of pellagra. But the typical pellagrin has subsisted upon so poor a food supply that he suffers from shortage of other nutritional factors as well as nicotinic acid; and so the nicotinic acid treatment while curing the dermatitis which gives rise to the name pellagra, does not make him a fully healthy man. Often he needs thiamin in addition to nicotinic acid or more often riboflavin, another of the "vitamin-B group."

[1] Lest the name be misleading, it should perhaps be stated explicitly that the body can *not* obtain nicotinic acid from nicotine.

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The substance now known as riboflavin was first known as lactochrome and then as lactoflavin. It is the water-soluble yellowish coloring matter of milk, skimmilk, and whey—entirely distinct from the fat-soluble yellow substances which go with the fat globules into the cream and butter. A similar pale greenish-yellow color is barely perceptible in the white of egg. These and some related colors had been called *flavins* by organic chemists before there was any suspicion that some of them were important in nutrition. When this latter fact was discovered and followed up, it was found that nutritionally active flavin obtained from various natural sources seemed always to be of the same molecular structure and chemically identical with synthetic riboflavin. Hence the term riboflavin was adopted to designate this substance regardless of its source. Whether this substance can be made cheaply enough for addition to large quantities of flour is a problem now being studied.

The United States government shows no disposition to make any enrichment of white flour or bread compulsory. The proposal now receiving favorable consideration and comment in Washington is simply that the term *enriched* be authorized for use in advertising and labeling flours and breads which have been brought up to prescribed standards of thiamin, nicotinic acid, iron, and perhaps also riboflavin content. Another type of enrichment, just as real but not so designated, is the use of a considerable proportion of milk in bread-making. This has grown in recent years until in 1940 it was said that baker's bread, other than that of the so-called French type, customarily contained about six parts of milk powder per hundred parts of flour. Such milk bread—particularly valuable for its calcium and riboflavin contents—costs more to make than ordinary bread and has usually been sold at no increase in price, the baker expecting his reimbursement through increased volume of business. It is now doubted that bread made with both a liberal proportion of milk and the new enrichments can be sold at the old price, and that the introduction of the latter may be at the cost of some skimping in the use of milk. The safeguard here is to develop an informed consumer demand.

There is space here for but glimpses of the evidence which comes both from human experience and from comprehensive and well controlled laboratory experimentation. Dr. V. P. Sydenstricker and co-workers have found many cases of riboflavin deficiency as a human disease sometimes occurring simultaneously with pellagra and sometimes independently. Among the latter they have reported upon 18 staff members in a Georgia hospital who came under observation because of cracked lips, eyes unduly sensitive to light, dimness of vision, or "eyestrain," all of whom responded promptly and well when given riboflavin alone. The explanation offered for these occurrences of riboflavin deficiency among people choosing their food freely from a well-supplied table was that "bad dietary habits with inadequate intake of milk, eggs and green vegetables were prevalent in the entire group."

This report of the finding of an unsuspected prevalence of riboflavin deficiency in a single community is probably to be taken as a warning of what may be

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found rather frequently when adequate diagnostic methods come into more common use. Already there are indications of frequent shortages of riboflavin among school children and hospital patients in New York City, while T. D. Spies and his co-workers have reported that this appears to be the most common of the deficiency diseases among the children of the Alabama area which they have studied.

Moreover, recent research affords very clear evidence that liberality of riboflavin in the dietary is a very important and far-reaching factor in health, not only in the prevention of disease but in the promotion of "health as a positive quality of life which can be built to higher levels." In tests made on laboratory rats (whose reactions to riboflavin are essentially like our own) it was found that increasingly liberal margins above a merely adequate (or minimal-adequate) allowance give increasingly good results at every stage in the life cycle and in the vigor of successive generations. Recent research also brings strong evidence, both clinical and experimental, that a generous surplus of calcium above the level of minimal adequacy or absolute need results in better growth and development of the young, a higher norm of adult health and vitality, and a longer lease of what we may call the prime of life—the period between the attainment of maturity and the onset of old age.

So strongly established is this fact that it may well be used to illustrate how the findings of current research are bringing scientific discrimination into the over-simplified concepts hitherto accepted. It has been thought that human beings could not make good use of much more food than they actually need. We now see that the beneficial margins are very different for different factors in our nutrition: of food-calories, the surplus of intake above actual need should be small; while of food-calcium, the percentage of surplus should be very much larger.

Vitamin A is another nutrient which shows increasing benefits resulting from increasingly liberal consumption throughout a wide zone above the merely adequate level. For *best* results in the long run it is well to take about four times as much vitamin A as the minimum amount on which one could get along. The same thing is probably true of vitamin C, though here the nature of the evidence is somewhat different. Strangely enough, with all the attention which is being given to liberality of allowance of thiamin, we still await experiments with different levels of intake of thiamin continued throughout the whole life cycle.

Thus far we have spoken chiefly of but four vitamins (A, and three—thiamin, riboflavin and nicotinic acid—of the B-group). Others are certainly also essential to our nutrition. In fact the story of vitamin C and the story of the vitamins D would each amply justify a separate paper of the length of this one. Under present limitations of space, we must now turn to the next aspect of the line of thought with which we are here most directly concerned.

We do not yet know in full detail just how many vitamins and mineral elements are needed in our nutrition, and yet our present knowledge when scientifically used does constitute a workable system which is already functioning in very significant ways. Only an unduly logic-chopping type of mind would seriously hold that all the chemical factors which are nutritionally

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essential are *ipso facto* equally important. According to the principles of present-day science, importance depends upon the likelihood (the degree of scientific probability) that a given essential factor will become (under conditions of actual life) a limiting factor, that is one which will actually determine events. Iodine (occurring chiefly as iodides) is such a limiting factor in some regions but not in most.

Of approximately 40 chemical factors presumably having essential functions in our nutrition, four, probably most often limiting factors, are especially significant: calcium, riboflavin, and vitamins A and C. And four kinds of food—milk, fruit, vegetables and eggs—when consumed liberally ensure ample provision of these otherwise often limiting factors. For this reason they are included under McCollum's term "protective foods." The newer knowledge of nutrition teaches that eggs should be used at about what Americans have long considered a good average level of consumption (about one a day), and that, within reason, the more the better of the other three.

To bring the benefits of the new chemistry of nutrition to all of our people through increased use of the protective foods is both an educational and an economic problem. Among typical American families those able to spend more liberally for food usually are better nourished; but when different housewives spend the same amount for food in the same markets the results are, nutritionally, sometimes good, sometimes fair, sometimes poor. The extended studies of Hazel K. Stiebeling and co-workers under the joint auspices of the Federal Departments of Agriculture and of Labor show this clearly for both the urban and rural population. But statistics of commercial shipments show greatly increased per capita consumption of, for example, lettuce and citrus fruits in recent years. Formerly regarded as luxuries these are now, under the guidance of the newer knowledge, coming to be appreciated as good nutritional investments.

A more scientific dietary for the army is on the other hand almost wholly an educational problem. The funds allowed for the feeding of the troops are liberal enough to provide generous amounts of practically any kinds of food desired; and the responsible army officers are now engaged in applying nutritional knowledge with the collaboration of a dietary expert. According to the *New York Herald Tribune* of March 30, 1941, the actual dietaries of our army will be "changed only for more milk, fruit, and vegetables." And this is undoubtedly the direction in which change is most desirable.

According to the April 1941 issue of the *Journal of the American Dietetic Association* the newer knowledge of nutrition is so appreciated by the navy that it now allows each man a pound of fruit and almost three pounds of vegetables a day.

Clearly the new chemistry of nutrition is already functioning to improve "the backward art of spending money" and will do so still more significantly as the influence of nutrition upon health, efficiency, accomplishment, and satisfaction in life comes to be more widely understood. We now have methods of investigation such as did not exist before and they not only serve in the work-a-day ways in terms of which we have been writing, but also they are affording us deeper insights and more far-reaching views.

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Nutrition has an important part in helping the body to maintain its reputed steady states, its relatively constant internal environment. But that environment is not, we have now found, so rigidly fixed as had been supposed, and recent research shows that through our food habits—the foods we eat and the proportions in which we eat them—we can consciously control, much more importantly than had been anticipated, the conditions that immediately environ our life processes.

Recognition of this fact clearly contributes to mental health and vigor. Much more than biological, so also it can be more than individual. As Dr. E. G. Conklin and Dr. J. C. Merriman have pointed out, the direction of human evolution is now largely social and society is a continuing organism interested in its own future. Whatever promises (or threatens) to affect this future will influence our decisions from day to day, and increasingly so with the growth of the truly scientific spirit which expects further progress to come not automatically but because we work for it. Meanwhile the shortness of individual lives limits sharply man's actual use of the knowledge which he has accumulated and of the institutions which he develops in the hope of making his knowledge advance his civilization. Of far-reaching significance therefore is the newest chemistry of food and nutrition which shows the way to a longer term of fully efficient years. As Dr. J. S. McLester said in his presidential address to the American Medical Association, science now offers to those peoples who will use the new knowledge of nutrition better health, longer life and a higher level of cultural development.

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Discussion

PACIFIST "HERESY"

To the Editor:

Mr. E. Merrick Dodd's article, "Peace by Way of the Sword" (Spring 1941) is splendid, and needs to be read by every pacifist. Just as every pacifist should read everything Reinhold Niebuhr has written. Personally I agree with Dodd but I don't believe he has stated the maturest form of pacifist belief—or of course even begun to sketch in the positive contributions that pacifists can make (and which I keep wishing they would hurry up and make). In other words I am something of a pacifist "heretic"—a pluralist.

According to my own understanding it is necessary for the American State to play the game of power politics with responsibility, initiative, vigor; and this means utilizing war as an instrument of national and international policy. But it is also imperative that a goodly number of men and women keep reminding us that the American State—or any State—is a loyalty less than the Kingdom of God; and that this community of pacifists muster all the creative imagination, courage and insight at their disposal to live out their witness to the way of reconciliation and love.

For my own part I have consistently felt that pacifists might do well to ponder the motto of the American Friends' Service Committee: "It is better to light a candle than to denounce the darkness." A little less heckling of the community-at-war and a little more constructive building of the community-of-love would very favorably impress me.

It seems to me that there are two distinct contexts from which this question of war and love can be discussed.

a) One can take the national State as the chief reality, with the social framework of property interests, institutional stakes etc. This is the unit of the historical power-struggle. War is still its ultimate instrument of policy. It rests on a firm fact of individual and social egocentricity: which leads to the identification of persons and groups with certain concrete "stakes," whether merely material possessions, or an exclusive ideal: nation, class, race, hemisphere.

b) One can take the Kingdom of God as the chief reality, with the universal spirit of community, and the values of reconciliation, healing, harmony. This is a unit outside of the historical power-struggle because it by definition does not put property, state, culture, race, class, party at the head of its objectives and values. It is always ready to sacrifice any of these in the interest of the spirit of love. The American State can be abandoned if its preservation can only be had through a means which violates the spirit of love.

Non-pacifists (like Dodd, by implication) make their error in failing to appreciate the indispensable role of the pacifist group—of a group that *will* stand outside of the absolute commitment to state and property etc., and thus serve as judge as well as peace-maker. Pacifists make a terrific error in dismissing the tremendous validity—or rather the *fact*—of the power-gestalt, the historical state and the historic adventure. Both pacifists and non-pacifists make the mistake of concluding that the pacifist context is the (a) above rather than the (b). Man does not live in only one context, but several. Hence the need of pluralism. But hence also the need of clarifying the contexts within which the advice one is offering has any validity.

E. McClung Fleming
New York, N. Y.

PEACE BY COMMON SENSE

To the Editor:

Mr. E. Merrick Dodd, an able and learned professor of law in a great university, condemns pacifism in his "Peace by Way of the Sword" (Spring 1941) as a deadly peril "to the civilization we Americans cherish," basing his contention solely on the palpably false analogy of war with policing. There was no need for him to quote the great Quaker founder of Pennsylvania to the effect that in every community there are evil-doers who must be restrained by force. Far more pertinent to the discussion is the fact that William Penn's just treatment of the Indians and his trust in them as human beings like himself, a trust demonstrated by the fact that the Quakers were unarmed, preserved his colony from Indian attacks throughout his life and long afterwards. While in Massachusetts and New York many

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lives were lost in battles between whites and Indians, not once during a period of 70 years was an unarmed Quaker in Pennsylvania slain by an Indian.

Quakers today and other pacifists are well aware that the restraint of antisocial individuals is an indispensable function of society. It is generally called policing. It involves policemen, courts, jails, and, in places where capital punishment still survives, it employs legal homicide. It is not war *toto coelo*. It is not analogous with war, inasmuch as it deals with individuals as such while war involves whole populations in disaster. A nation as such—millions of men, women and children—is not a moral being, can be neither guilty nor innocent of wrongdoing. Burke said that he did not "know the method of drawing up an indictment against a whole people." Moreover, an individual is a physical entity, a body as well as a mind and character. Accordingly an individual can be handcuffed, jailed, hanged by the neck. But a nation cannot be put in jail. A nation has no collective neck that can stretch the hangman's rope.

In the present context the true analogue of the nation, of course, is not the individual but the municipality, that is, the nation on a small scale. And municipalities dwell side by side in peace, their citizens never dreaming of intermunicipal collective conflict. The people of St. Paul do not become hysterical with fear and hate over news that the police force of Minneapolis has been enlarged. Police never fight other police, but cooperate with them in the handling of criminals.

The Constitution of the United States is a classic of pacifism in that it gives the Federal Government no authority to coerce a State—which would be war—but it may coerce delinquent or wrongdoing individuals within a State—which is policing. Senator Borah, in his pioneer resolution (1923) for the outlawing of war, referred to this vital feature of our federal system as follows: "Whereas, in our Constitutional Convention of 1787, it was successfully contended by Madison and Hamilton that the use of force, when applied to people collectively, that is, to states or nations, was unsound in principle. . . ." "Unsound in principle" because, as Oliver Ellsworth said in the Convention: "If we should attempt to execute the laws of the Union by sending an armed force against a delinquent State, it would involve the good and bad, the innocent and guilty, in the same calamity."

Not to policing, to prisons, even to capital punishment, does the pacifist as such object. These all are concerned with individuals according to their individual behavior. Even for the assassination of a tyrant something can be said, as Wendell Phillips proved in his famous Phi Beta Kappa address at Harvard (1881). What pacifists condemn is collective homicide, the wholesale killing of good men by good men, patriots by patriots, Christians—God save the mark!—by Christians, each group of killers convinced—thanks especially to its religious guides—that its cause is righteous. Of such procedure what judgment is possible save that it is, in essence, suicidal insanity? Well has Dean Inge said of the period of the World War: "We were all stark mad together."

The Constitution, pacifist as regards the relations between the States, has been splendidly justified by events. It is not too much to say that its system of a federal union has banished war and the fear of war between our States, now multiplied to forty-eight and containing a population of 130,000,000 and an area larger than the whole of war-torn Europe apart from Russia. Scores of disputes between States have been settled peaceably by the Supreme Court, as the Constitution prescribes, and never has an army been used against a State to enforce the Court's decree. Public opinion has been a sufficient sanction. We have an army and navy, to be sure, and are now frantically spending billions to enlarge them, only a mere third of our people being ill-fed, ill-clad, and ill-housed. But this enormous expenditure on instruments of slaughter and the training of conscripts to use them, while we gallop recklessly toward bankruptcy and economic chaos, is not at all to keep New York from conquering and annexing Connecticut, but solely for "defense," that is, for the killing of foreigners.

The Civil War, to be sure, put one dark blot upon our record. No political device is absolute proof against human passion, pride, greed, and especially stupidity. Again to quote Oliver Ellsworth, in the Convention: "If the States will quarrel, if they want to fight, they may do it, and no frame of government can possibly prevent it." Notwithstanding the one deplorable lapse, the sad consequences of which plague us to this day, we have a right to ask the world to see in our union a working model of a world government and to invite all nations to unite with us in a similar world federation. Our participation in such a world government would not require sacrifice on our part, but, on the contrary, would vastly increase our prosperity and happiness. We serve ourselves best by serving all humanity.

The Founding Fathers were essentially internationalists when they established the "more perfect union" of the thirteen "free and independent

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States." Pacifists today are internationalists in spirit, barring the negligible few of the "Nihilist sort"—fanatical, other-worldly, illiterately literalistic. We are not Isolationists. We are not cramped by an assumption that peace must necessarily wait for "the slow spread of pacifist ideas," at any rate as an uncomprehending critic of pacifism conceives those ideas. We believe that non-violent resistance has been abundantly proved practical. Our repudiation of war does not imply complacent acceptance of foreign aggression, as the Chinese yielded to the Manchus. Our "non-resistance" is really super-resistance, pitting hard common sense against unmitigated nonsense, overcoming evil with good. But we know that the framers of our Constitution were not pacifists. And we rejoice over every movement toward a world federation, no matter under what auspices. The League of Nations had no more earnest well-wishers than the pacifists, despite our conviction, which time has demonstrated, that the military sanctions of the Covenant are unworkable; and despite the unwillingness of Christian pacifists to change the title of the Lord to Prince of *Enforced* Peace.

John Dewey has said "Nothing could be more absurd, from the historic point of view, than to regard the conception of an international State of federated humanity, with its own laws and its own courts and its own rules for adjudicating disputes, as a mere dream, an illusion of sentimental hope. It is a very slight step to take forward compared with that which has substituted the authority of national States for the conflict of isolated clans and local communities; or with that which has substituted a publicly administered justice for the régime of private war and retaliation."

Lord Ponsonby, writing in the April 7 issue of the British War Resisters' International publication which reached this country "passed by the Censor," declares "In spite of gloomy prognostications about a four or five years' war, I am not without hope that a representative of a powerful non-belligerent nation may come forward with an endeavor in the conflict between the two undefeated belligerents to cry a halt to the policy of 'Nothing but slaughter, nothing but killing,' and suggest an approach to the council table. A conference has to be called sooner or later. Let any reasonable man ask himself whether the result would not be better for the world now than in four years' time."

And Laurence Housman, the new chairman of the W.R.I., writing in the same issue, declares ". . . No military victory, to whichever side it may fall, for better or for worse, can affect his certainty that the way of salvation for the world is the way of Peace; and that the policy of Peace must eventually prevail over the policies of war, because it is not merely a policy of righteousness but of common sense."

HENRY WINN PINKHAM
Newton Centre, Mass.

DOCTORS AND HOSPITAL BEDS

(*Editor's note: The two following letters are used with the permission of authors and recipients.*)

Bertram M. Bernheim, M.D.

Dear Sir:

I have just finished your article, "Hospital Beds: Sociological Problem" (Spring 1941) while on a vacation trip. I have been so busy with one aspect of this problem that I thought I would get away from it here in the Gulf. However, your article aroused my interest to the point where I desire to trespass on your time to call your attention to a partial solution in the process of being worked out in Minnesota.

I was born and raised in the rural districts of Illinois and for five years have been counsel and member of the executive committee of the Minnesota Hospital Service Association. My figures will be substantially correct though given from memory.

In Minneapolis and St. Paul this Association has grown until it covers 32% of the entire population and 40% of cases admitted to private hospitals. From mere toleration the medical profession has come to be enthusiastic. Surgical cases have not increased, but medical care has doubled in the five years. We believe this has done much for preventive medicine.

Now what have been the results as to the hospital? I became interested in this movement as treasurer of a hospital. The last thing I did before starting on my vacation was to sign payroll checks with the fourth payroll increase since this plan was put into effect. Wages are now above 1929 level. During this time the hospital has added almost every known equipment. New X-rays, air conditioned operating rooms etc.—over $60,000. Doctors now like our hospital better and the patient has something left to pay them.

All this as a prelude to the movement now under way. During the last year we have been taking in rural hospitals—we now have over 75 hospitals in the state of Minnesota and over 60% of all the private beds.

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Some results are already apparent and I believe others will follow. The hospitals have to meet certain minimum standards, which tends to improve them. The hospitals and doctors of the state are cooperating on the problem in a way that no one would have thought possible five years ago.

From my knowledge of the rural areas, and based on our past experience, I believe we will see the following development in Minnesota during the next five years.

In the first place, the fact that hospitalization is paid for will gradually overcome the reluctance of the rural person so that he will use the hospital more and more. The increased income will improve the hospitals. The improved hospitals will attract better doctors. Added to this will be the fact that the patients will have to have a doctor in order to be admitted as they are only admitted on a doctor's certificate. This will increase the doctor's income. When I see what has been accomplished in Minnesota without one cent of government help in only five years, I have faith that we are only on the threshold of helping solve this whole problem.

The plan in Minnesota is financially sound and has had the vision to meet new problems as they arise. These problems are numerous.

I hope the government will give this experiment a little more time to see what it can do before trying to solve the matter. We sometimes want to do things too fast. While I am not a doctor, I have intimate contact with them and I am satisfied they are on the verge of making real progress from their angle.

Your article is an excellent one and I think it will do much to clarify thinking and stimulate interest. Thank you for it.

ABBOTT L. FLETCHER
Minneapolis, Minn.

Dear Mr. Fletcher,

Your letter was forwarded to me by THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR and I've taken much pleasure in reading it. Certainly you and your colleagues have done a grand job and it is things like that which count. We have a similar Hospital Service in Baltimore and just last summer, having had the whooping cough—of all things—I had occasion to avail myself of it.

I agree with you entirely that we must not be too hasty, but I don't think the Government is pushing so hard as the A.M.A. is drawing back. And while I do feel, too, with you, that Hospital Service does help the doctor, it is an indirect help and insufficient. I cannot see why there should not be some way of incorporating in Hospital Service charges something for the doctor—other than the objection of organized medicine.

I can see why Hospital Service wouldn't want to do it—it is simpler as it is—and I can see why the people prefer it as it is—the charge is less—but sooner or later this thing of the doctor being left to shift for himself and collect his fee when, as, and if he can has got to stop. I think, too, it would be far cheaper for the patient, far less expensive in the long run, if his medical charges were incorporated in the Hospital Service charge.

Yours was a thoughtful letter and I was particularly pleased to know that you liked my article. We are indeed, as you said, just on the verge of great changes.

Yours very sincerely,
BERTRAM M. BERNHEIM
Baltimore, Md.

INTERNATIONAL LANGUAGE AND THE IALA

To the Editor:

May I express my appreciation of the brilliant article "International Language and National Cultures," by Professor Albert Guérard of Stanford University in your Spring issue.

The timeliness of his arguments must be apparent to readers of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR. Members of Phi Beta Kappa are, as individuals and as a national body, giving thought to ways and means of mobilizing the resources of men's minds to combat disintegrating forces and to defend intellectual liberty. Therefore the idea of a neutral international language that will make possible the direct communication of thought between men of different national cultures should appeal to them as one of the instruments to be used for their purpose.

If stirred by Mr. Guérard, the reader at once asks, "What can be done about it?" Mr. Guérard has presented a formula: "Man uses the materials provided by Nature and submits them to a rationalized natural process." He continues: "The formula is simple enough. Its application is by no means easy; it must be remembered that modern interlinguistics is not a game but a science." Then he draws attention to several "practical solutions, immediately available," particularly to Esperanto, Occidental, Latino. The reader now asks: "Does this mean that a selection must be made? And if so, by whom?" His mind may go back to the 1921 report of a special committee of the British

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Association for the Advancement of Science, which, after examining the auxiliary language question, concluded that a neutral "artificial" language would be best and that either Esperanto or Ido would do. He is eager for news of progress toward agreement on a definitive form of language.

Fortunately, much progress can be reported. In 1924 a group of people (including leaders in education, science, communications and business) were stimulated to action by the International Research Council and by such reports as that of the British Association's committee. They founded the International Auxiliary Language Association. The late John H. Finley, a beloved figure of the Phi Beta Kappa Society, was one of the founders, and he was serving as President at the time of his death. The present President is Stephen Duggan, Director of the Institute of International Education, another one of your membership.

The Association (usually referred to as IALA) aims for agreement on one form of international language and offers a method for obtaining agreement. The method is the application of the very formula prescribed by Mr. Guérard. IALA is applying the science of interlinguistics to the problem of arriving at objective criteria for determining the structure and vocabulary of a language best adapted to perform the special functions of an international auxiliary language. The language must be adapted to serve as a means of direct communication between people of different tongues, as a norm for translation, and as a basis for general language study.

The research program of IALA was charted by and is being executed under the general direction of eminent philologists in universities in various countries, and in consultation with scholars in the fields of education, psychology and sociology. Mr. Guérard himself has long been a most helpful consultant. Among the philologists who have at one time or another been most active in helping develop the program are William E. Collinson (Liverpool), Albert Debrunner (Jena, Berne, Basle), Otto Jespersen (Copenhagen), A. Meillet (Paris, deceased), Edward Sapir (Chicago, Yale, deceased), Joseph Vendryes (Paris), Nicolaas van Wijk (Leiden).

The science of interlinguistics throws new light upon the nature of both ethnic and constructed languages, and it reveals anew the soundness of the assumption of the authors of modern constructed languages that in the major national languages of Europe there exist already the elements of a common international language. IALA's task is to carry this idea on to its logical conclusion. From a thorough comparative study of the etymologies of major European languages and of the best known auxiliary languages, IALA is gradually extracting a definitive form of international language which will retain both the essence and spirit of the earlier forms, and will be, in fact, their fulfilment. Thus the emerging language will have a familiar aspect to the hundreds of millions of people who already know English, French, German, Italian, Portuguese, or Spanish, and to others it will be of unique service because it will be easier to learn than any of those languages, and will be, at the same time, a key to them.

Some may argue that an international language should be drawn from the major languages of civilized peoples the world over, but the best linguistic scholarship recognizes that such a conglomerate extraction would be undesirable philologically and impossible psychologically.

I believe that a neutral international language will be an asset to scientists in their sharing of new knowledge, to the business man in his commercial communications, to the traveler and broadcaster, and to young people in their general language study. A dynamic effort to bring about use of the language is bound to have far-reaching influence in developing on an international scale the free expression and exchange of ideas. Further, I believe with Mr. Guérard that the use of such a language is essential to the permanent success of any political form of international cooperation.

The extracting, synthesizing, and generalizing of the elements of ethnic languages already on the lips of millions of people in six continents is an inspiring task, though one of exacting detail. A large part of the work was being carried on by an international staff in the University of Liverpool. This was disrupted overnight on the outbreak of war. Reorganization has been effected in New York, with the loss of not more than about a year. IALA expects to have ready before the end of 1942 a simple system of grammar and word-building and a basic vocabulary which will be capable of functioning as a complete language. After that, the general vocabulary can be enlarged indefinitely, in line with prescribed rules of extraction, and technical vocabularies can be absorbed as rapidly as agreed on by international committees in special fields.

Meanwhile I urge those who see in an international language possibilities for building and serving a more civilized world, to help create public opinion that will put the language into

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effective use when a definitive form is recommended.

ALICE V. MORRIS
(MRS. DAVE HENNEN MORRIS)
New York, N. Y.

"THOSE GLORIFIED REPTILES"

To the Editor:

The Spring 1941 issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR contains an article entitled, "Those Glorified Reptiles, Birds." The presence of many errors requires comment. In brief, the following points, directly contradicted by Mr. Long, have been established beyond reasonable doubt:

Feathers are not metamorphosed scales as is stated (p. 209). Feathers are outgrowths from the skin, fundamentally different from scales.

The thumb is not a useless stub (p. 211). In many species of birds it is an important aid in rapid maneuvering in flight.

Red blood corpuscles do not multiply (p. 212) to replace the worn out cells.

The marrow is not absent in all bird bones (p. 212). The marrow of the leg bones, for example, is a very important blood forming organ.

The weight and bulk of eggs would not be doubled if birds had two ovaries (p. 213). The same number of eggs is matured irrespective of the number of ovaries. It is true, however, that the loss of one oviduct reduced the weight of the bird.

Birds are not descended from "Jurassic lizards" as is implied (p. 213). They arose from the same stock as the dinosaurs.

In addition to these positive errors, there are several statements which are questionable. Many ornithologists believe that birds began flight by flapping and thus did not go through a volplaning stage as is stated (p. 209). Most ornithologists believe that birds have not yet approached the peak of their development (p. 219). The evidence from anatomy and geographical distribution suggests that as a class birds are in a relatively early stage of development. The statement (p. 213) that the nictitating membrane is drawn across the eye during flight is ambiguous. Streseman, the well known authority on birds, states that while a sparrow is at rest the membrane winks at the rate of about 80 times per second. He does not mention the action during flight. Such an observation would present extreme technical difficulties.

It would seem that these comments are justified in the interests of accuracy.

DAVID E. DAVIS, PH.D.
Wilmette, Ill.

(Editor's note: The following letter is published with permission of the author and the recipient.)

Dr. David E. Davis
Dear Sir:

Your belligerently scornful letter of March 26th has been forwarded to me by THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, and makes me feel like a prisoner before the bar, accused of perjury. I shall not say that you are either right or wrong because you appear so certain of your ground that anything I might say in defense of the statements to which you take exception would be merely a repetition of the article which you branded as full of falsehoods. But I think I am justified in quoting some of the references from which I gleaned the disputed facts.

You say that "feathers are not metamorphosed scales, but outgrowths of the skin, fundamentally different from scales."

Newman says: "A feather is a modified scale that arises from a dermal papilla."

Kingsley says: "Feathers are probably derived from scales, and the section of lizard skin might well represent an early stage in the development of a feather."

Walters says: ". . . feathers . . . are entirely epidermal." Parker and Haswell say: "Feathers, like scales, arise in the embryo from papillae of the skin."

Romer says: ". . . feathers are only modified scales in which the edges have been frayed out into a large number of fine interlocking subdivisions."

As for your statement that the thumb of a bird is an important aid in rapid maneuvering in flight, I might quote your own comment at the end of your letter, that to determine this importance would require a type of observation presenting extreme technical difficulties! It is doubtful that the few small feathers of the thumb forming the "bastard wing" would assume the importance you suggest. A mere glance at the wing of a bird is sufficient to show that digits I and III are of negligible importance as compared with digit II.

Your objection to the statement concerning the red corpuscles is the only one in your letter which seems to me warranted. In the original version of the paper, the statement read: "In birds the corpuscles retain their nuclei, so that they are capable of living longer, and the marrow of the bones can be largely dispensed with without endangering an adequate replenishment from other sources such as the spleen." It is true, as you point out, that there is marrow in the femur and in the tip of the tibia.

On this subject Kaup says: "In very young birds the cavities of bones contain, instead of air spaces, loosely arranged red marrow which is in most bones later absorbed."

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Thomson says: "The long bones have large medullary cavities, and many bones of many birds contain prolongations of air sacs from the lungs. The marrow often disappears entirely at an early age, and while the bones are still a-making, an air sac enters its cavity."

Neal and Rand say: "The evidence on the whole favors the conclusion that the blood cells of the adult have diverse sources of origin, red marrow, endothelium, lymph nodes, spleen etc., and are not the direct descendants of the primitive angioblast cells."

It is quite true that if birds possessed two functioning ovaries there would undoubtedly be some adjustment so that the number and weight of eggs would not be too great. But your point is not clear. In a frog or toad, for instance (and please do not indulge your predilection for assuming implications to the extent that you think I infer birds are descended from toads!) where both ovaries function, the number of eggs produced is approximately equal in each ovary. It is difficult to understand how, if one such ovary were removed, there would be no effect on the number of eggs contained in the animal. Your argument, pressed to its logical conclusion, would seem to indicate that the removal of both ovaries would still not affect the number of eggs produced! What I think you mean is that the total number of potential eggs is determined by the number of primordial germ cells at the time the gonads mature. But whatever you mean is not clear.

I did not imply that birds were descended from lizards, but even if I had it would not have been such a disastrous statement for an article of the type of "Glorified Reptiles," for it is agreed that they derived from lizard-like forms. Perhaps you would have preferred the statement to read, "Since the days of Archaeopteryx and the Jurassic cycads" such and such a thing occurred. But there again, you might infer that I mean birds are descended from plants, so even that statement would undoubtedly attract your scorn.

Your objection to my statement that Archaeopteryx' flight was more volplaning than true flight on the grounds that the statement says anything at all about the *origin* of avian flight, seems to me rather silly. For the fact remains that his flight was very probably just that. And it is also generally conceded that avian flight *was* evolved through forms that alternated fluttering with volplaning.

It is difficult, with so much evidence to the contrary, to understand your argument that birds are in an early stage of development. Naturally some birds are less specialized than others, but birds as a class certainly are far from primitive. As Parker and Haswell say, in many respects they are the most highly specialized of the craniata. Or, to quote Lull, "With them (birds) it is perfection and multiplication of detail . . ."

I am sorry you find the statement about the nictitating membrane ambiguous. The truth of the statement is in no wise altered merely because no mention was made of the membrane's function when the bird is *not* in flight. I suppose, according to your viewpoint, to say that a windshield wiper functions to clear the glass of rain, implies that in sunny weather the wiper cannot be turned on! What you seem to overlook in your rather bespectacled criticism, is the nature and purpose of the article. It is not a technical report; its type and necessary brevity made it necessary merely to touch the high spots of a subject. In such an article one can hardly be expected to include *all* pertinent data, nor to clutter it up with split hairs. I should gladly leave that sort of labor to you.

I regret very much that you found the article so painfully unpleasant reading, and I hope that this letter will set at rest your fears that I am perpetrating the crime of false propaganda in favor of avian social standing.

CHARLES I. LONG,
Hollywood, Cal.

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About Our Authors

Double quotation marks usually indicate passages taken directly from autobiographical letters requested from the authors themselves.

BURTON E. LIVINGSTON, to whom all scientific articles considered for THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR are submitted, has been director of the Johns Hopkins laboratory of plant physiology since 1913. But to recite his history of many years' service as secretary of the AAAS, as author of numerous technical books and papers, and as a figure of international reputation for research and invention in his own field gives scant indication of the lively and catholic interests he has shown as a patient and tireless member of THE SCHOLAR'S Editorial Board since 1935. The magazine owes much to his intellectual curiosity that has led it to explore fruitfully, under his guidance, many new paths.

After studying at the Universities of Munich, Hamburg, Geneva and Berlin PRINCE HUBERTUS ZU LOEWENSTEIN in 1931 received his doctorate from Hamburg. He was at that time leader of the Republican Students' Association and the Republican Youth Movement in Berlin. Expatriated by the Nazis in 1934 he became a citizen of Czechoslovakia and in 1938 took out his first papers in this country. Since his arrival he has addressed the League of Nations Union and many other groups during six coast-to-coast lecture tours. He has been a familiar figure in many universities and colleges as a visiting professor of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. . . . His general fields of academic interest are history, government, international relations and political philosophy—interests that have found scope in many articles and in *The Tragedy of a Nation* (1934) and *Conquest of the Past, An Autobiography* (1938).

It would be difficult not to know, by repute or directly from his books, ALLAN NEVINS, author of two Pulitzer Prize-winning biographies—*Grover Cleveland—A Study in Courage* and *The Inner History of the Grant Administration.* Readers of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR will also remember his articles in its pages (Vol. 3, No. 2; Vol. 8, No. 3). He has interrupted his professorship of American history at Columbia University—a post he has held since 1931—to fill the Sir George Watson Chair of American history, literature and institutions in Great Britain in 1934-35 and to serve during the past spring term as Harmsworth Professor at Oxford University and visiting Carnegie Professor in the British Isles. . . . He says, "I am earnestly in favor of giving the literary elements in history more emphasis. My great joy at Columbia is a body of graduate students who have wholeheartedly entered into my ideas and have been turning out books that commercial publishers are glad to accept."

Behind I. L. KANDEL's debut in this country lie a teaching diploma from the University of Manchester [followed a few years later by a Ph.D. from Columbia] and several years of teaching the classics at the Royal Academical Institute in Belfast. . . . "In 1908 I became a graduate student at Teachers College, Columbia University, and began my professional career in this country as assistant editor of Monroe's *Cyclopedia of Education.* From 1913 to 1923 I was a lecturer at Teachers College and at the same time a staff member with the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching. In 1923 I was appointed full professor and Associate in the International Institute of Teachers College with the opportunity of developing a relatively new branch in the study of education—that of comparative education. I edit the Institute's *Educational Yearbook* which surveys the progress of education in different parts of the world, and am on the Editorial Board of the *Year Book of Education,* published in London." . . . His numerous writings, including a discussion in THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR (Vol. 8, No. 1), have been chiefly in the fields of the history of education and comparative education. The study of educational systems abroad has taken him frequently to Europe, Latin America, New Zealand and Australia. His main interest, to which he can devote vitriolic attention, is "the study of the relation between political and social theory and education—a relationship to which other aspects of education are subordinate."

JACOB LOEWENBERG, professor of philosophy and chairman of his department at the University of California at Berkeley, writes that "the events that fill the life of a scholar, very exciting to him, are not dramatic enough to engage general interest." His arrival at California in 1915 was preceded by a Ph.D. at Harvard and four years of teaching at Wellesley. . . . "Under ordinary circumstances," he says, "it is well for the philosopher to remain aloof from the political issues and the partisan struggles of the day. But when momentous things are at stake detachment becomes impossible. Before the depression my interest in the social sciences was largely academic. The depression stirred me deeply and led me to reflect on political and economic theories. . . .

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The paper on 'Recovery' is a result of these reflections. Although it was written before the war, the defense of the civilized values of life within the framework of a democratic society—and this is the heart of the paper—is now more important than ever. . . . I have gradually come to the conclusion that technical philosophy, though highly important, is not important enough. A bookish soul who lacks the vibrant loyalty of a citizen in a democracy is a lost soul in a world now threatened by the epidemic of a new barbarism. America is still the 'promised land,' not yet flowing with milk and honey but destined to perpetuate the heritage of the Declaration of Independence. Upon all of us rests the task to free ourselves from the false gods that have brought humanity to its present impasse, and to draw the outlines of a sane and just society as a basis for the humane and durable values of life."

PETER R. E. VIERECK, graduated from Harvard in 1937 *summa cum laude*, held (at Christ Church, Oxford) one of the seven Henry Fellowships awarded in America for students of the highest academic rating; and during 1939-40 a University Fellowship at Harvard. While he was in Europe he became foreign correspondent for the social science magazine of American college students, the *Harvard Guardian*, of which he had been a founding editor. Knopf will publish in the fall his *Metapolitics*, "a psycho-analytical study of modern nationalism, that most lethal form of 'Banality on the March.' "

ROBERT LAWRENCE, who remarks that "throwing big parties" is one of his hobbies and who has a great deal to say on musical subjects, has remarkably little to say of himself. This much he has vouchsafed: that he is assistant music critic on the *New York Herald Tribune*, that he has written 13 books for children on opera, operetta and ballet and that he was co-author of the *Metropolitan Opera Guide*. Professionally he has been trained as a conductor (he has had two guest appearances this May with the New York Symphony), critic and lecturer.

WHITNEY J. OATES, now associate professor in classics at Princeton, has been connected with that university continuously since he entered as a freshman. . . . He comments, "My major interest has been in Greek literature and philosophy, and I have tried to do everything in my power to help revitalize classical studies in these fields. The masterpieces of Greek literature and thought have so much of basic importance to offer men in the confusion of the present that every effort to extend the classical audience is justified. Hence I feel that I was most fortunate in being able to edit the Random House edition of *The Stoic* and *Epicurean Philosophers* and, with E. G. O'Neill, Jr. of Yale *The Complete Greek Drama* in English translation. . . . The study of Plato and Aristotle has proved to be most absorbing as one comes to realize more and more what they have given to Western European civilization and in particular to Christianity and democracy."

For the past 20 years KIRKOR GUMUCHIAN (whose education at the University of Manchester and at Robert College, Constantinople, was supplemented by the study of art in Paris) has been a dealer in rare books and until the present war forced him to return to New York had a shop in Paris. He is known not only as a specialist in old books but also as a pioneer in certain types—collectors and confrères consider him an authority on early children's books and old bindings. In 1929 he issued *Belles Reilures*, a folio catalogue of rare bindings from the 15th to the early 19th century; and in 1930 *Le Catalogue de l'Enfance*, in 2 volumes and with 1800 reproductions, describing 6200 early children's books he had collected.

About the only writing ROBERT LAX admits to having done since he left Columbia in 1938 is in a journal which consists of "prose and poetry and anything else I feel moved to write." As a matter of fact he reserves most of his interest for writing —his own and other people's—and exercises that interest now on *The New Yorker* editorial staff.

ROBERT G. SPIVACK tells us: "When I became a senior at the University of Cincinnati I was elected to the national executive committee of the Student League for Industrial Democracy, more because I was editor of the college paper than because of any intimate knowledge of the social forces at work in the country. Before I was graduated in 1936 I had become convinced of the necessity of an organization like the American Student Union and voted for it. Later I became associate editor of *The Student Outlook*, published by the Student League for Industrial Democracy, and later was on the staff of *The Student Advocate*, publication of the American Student Union, when James Wechsler was its editor. I have also been on the national council of the American Youth Congress and for three years was general secretary of International Student Service. I am now editor of *SOS*, publication of the Student Defenders of Democracy. . . . I have traveled frequently in Europe and studied the youth movements there. I don't expect to make a career of my 'youthfulness' but I do expect to continue writing and fighting for political and economic democracy."

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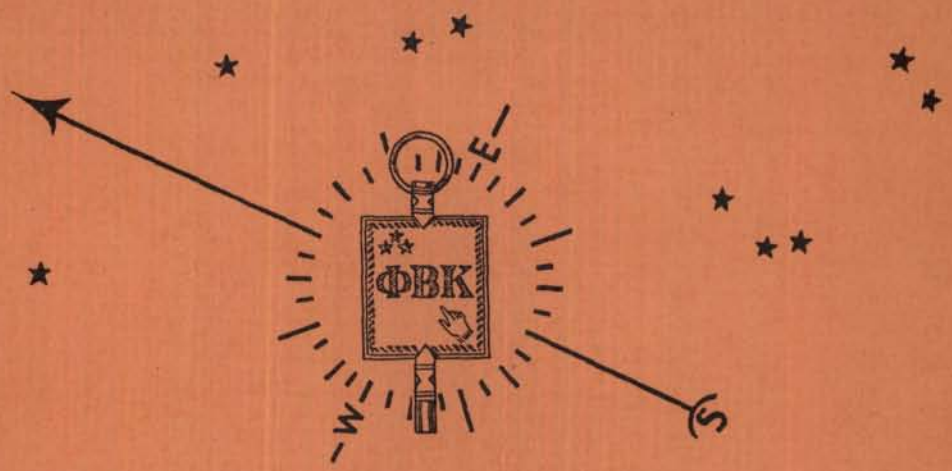

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